THE FIRST ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT AND LUTHER

GRUBER

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THE FIRST ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT AND LUTHER

THE REAL EXTENT TO WHICH TYNDALE WAS DEPENDENT UPON LUTHER AS A TRANSLATOR

By

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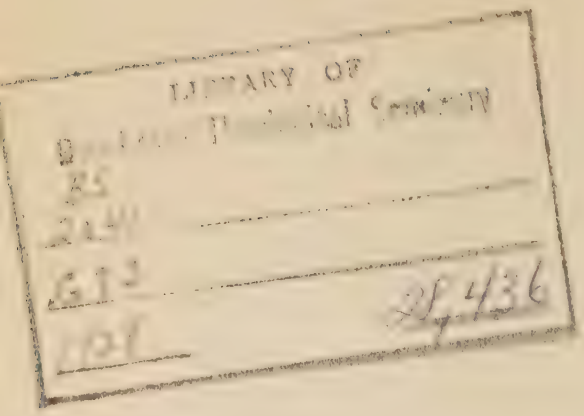

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PREFACE

HE Quadricentennial of the beginning of the Reformation, in 1917, was made the occasion of a reexamination of many things associated with that great movement. The personalities of its great leaders, in and with their historic backgrounds, were studied as perhaps never before, both from the Protestant and from the Roman Catholic standpoint. The far-reaching events of the sixteenth century, in which they figured, and their literary labors, were reviewed in the light of the twentieth century, with the keen scrutiny developed by four centuries of history.

Of the great men of that eventful period there is none that received anything like the attention in this fresh study that Luther, the brave monk of Wittenberg, received. Nor is there any other Reformer whom such reweighing in the balances of present-day unbiased critical judgment has found wanting in so few essential particulars. After every fresh examination, and comparison with others, he still stands out like an "Alpine Mountain," as the religious genius in

whose soul the Reformation was born and by whose mighty hand, under God, it was directed toward its consummation; as the restorer of God's unchanging truth from the accumulation of traditions and errors of a millennium; as the matchless translator of the Bible into the vernacular and the consummate expositor of its real doctrinal essence; as the heroic figure that marks the second greatest turning point in human history.

In attempts to ascertain a proper measure of the greatness of Luther he has often been compared with other Reformers. But such a measure in itself might have but a *relative* value. If the contemporaries of a man were all relatively small men, the standard by which such a man might naturally be measured would be small; and though he might be great as compared with them, he might still be small as compared with men of another period. But historians have vied with one another in lauding the greatness and the deeds of the contemporaries of Luther. Indeed, on this point, both friends and foes of the Reformation will perhaps agree, namely, that throughout the Christian centuries there has been no period with a greater array of truly great men than that of the Reformation. But, of the great men of that period, Luther, with his many-sided genius, must be acknowledged to have been incomparably the greatest. Thus a suggestive comparison of Zwingli with Luther might be made through Carlstadt. While Carlstadt was associated with the Wittenberg Reformers and the far-reaching Reformatory Move-

ment in its full swing there, he was a small man as compared with Luther; later on, when associated with Zwingli and his co-workers in the more local Swiss Reformation he was considered, and undoubtedly was, great.

But Luther was great not only as compared with all his contemporary Reformers in every land, but also as compared with the truly great men of all ages. Our own admiration continues to grow with continued study of the man, of his prodigious literary output, and of the Titanic movement which must always be identified with his overmastering personality. Indeed, in a sense, Luther was the Reformation. We marvel also at the vast range of his versatility and the genuine catholicity of his teaching, at what might be called the timelessness of his outlook upon truth and upon events and the consequent freshness or uptodateness of his attitude toward many great world-problems. But why say more? We believe we can truthfully say that Luther was one of the few truly great outstanding characters of all time—men who have turned the world's history into totally different channels and who belong thereafter to all future ages.

It is therefore no discredit to a contemporary Reformer to compare him or his work with Luther; it should rather be an honor to be compared with one so great. The following comparison of Tyndale with Luther is therefore not meant to minimize the work of Tyndale. It is meant only to subserve the interests of

the truth as to a much debated point, namely, the extent, if any, to which Tyndale was dependent upon Luther as a translator of the Bible.

The subject which we are discussing is thus not a new one. As will appear in Part I., it is virtually as old as the two historic publications of which it treats. But, while it is an old one in that sense, it is one that, in another sense, is ever new and fresh. Moreover, it will also be seen that it has hitherto persisted in remaining an *open question*. What contribution this *first-hand* fresh study may humbly make to this historically and bibliographically interesting subject, we shall leave to the judgment of the candid reader.

The substance of the following comparison of Tyndale's Cologne New Testament (1525) with the New Testament published by Luther, together with our conclusions, we first offered as a Quadricentennial study in several issues of the *Lutheran Church Review*, 1916-1917. A little later it was issued separately in book form. But copies of the *Church Review* may be inaccessible to many who are interested in the subject, while the edition in book form was soon exhausted and is now out of print. Some of the writer's *conclusions*, with various new elements, were published also in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, as a Quadricentennial offering in commemoration of the publication of Luther's New Testament (1522). As considerable interest, both in America and abroad, has been manifested in these investigations, and as there have been many calls for co-

pies of the above which could not be supplied, we believe that this revised and somewhat enlarged publication on the subject will be welcomed. We therefore send it forth on its intended mission.

January 6, 1928

L. Franklin Gruber

Maywood, Illinois

Part One

THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

I

WHAT TYNDALE'S NEW TESTAMENT WAS CALLED

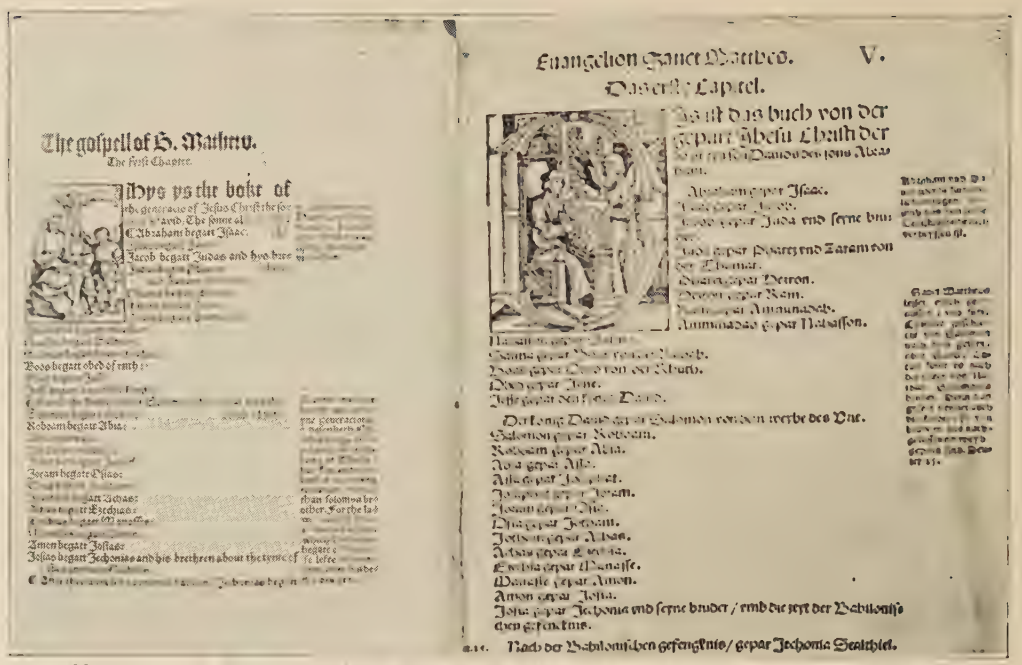
T is a rather singular fact that Tyndale's New Testament was regarded by enemies of the Reformation, both in England and on the Continent, as "Luther's New Testament in English." It is altogether likely, however, that their first examination of this new book in the reformatory movement was somewhat superficial. At any rate, it was not likely at first sufficiently thorough-going to warrant so sweeping a conclusion. And yet, if we transport ourselves back to their time and in thought place ourselves in the midst of the great religious upheaval of that period, and consider the matter from their point of view, we can readily understand how natural such an inference must have been.

The conflict with the long established order had begun in Wittenberg in 1517, and at the time of the appearance of Tyndale's first New Testament in 1525 it had reached menacing proportions. Almost every

significant event associated with that conflict was somehow considered as emanating from Luther as its great directing genius. Tyndale was known to be on the Continent, and the current rumor was that some of the time he was spending in Wittenberg. Moreover, when his Cologne New Testament publication appeared its printed page closely resembled the corresponding page of Luther's New Testament, which had already passed through three folio editions—September, 1522; December, 1522; and 1524. It was therefore quite natural to think that at last Luther's New Testament was making its appearance in the English language. Hence, loyalty to the Church demanded that this, like all other Lutheran publications, must be suppressed before it could do its supposedly deadly work of infecting the people of England with the heresies of the sect of Luther.

In further confirmation of what is said above, we shall now give several quotations from contemporary writers, in which the name "Luther's Testament in English" is applied to Tyndale's New Testament. These, as also the numerous other quotations that will appear throughout this book, we shall reproduce with their quaint spelling exactly as they appear in the originals.

In *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More*, 1529, chapter eight of the third book, occur the following striking words: "It is/quod I/to me gret meruayl/that eny good cristen man hauing eny drop of wyt in hys hed/



Matt. 1:1-12, Third Edition of Luther's New Testament, with corresponding part of Tyndale's **Cologne Fragment** at the left. Photographed together and reduced to almost one-half. See pages 16 and 115.

wold eny thing meruell or complayn of the burning of that boke if he knowe the mater which who so callith the new testament calleth it by a wrong name/except they wyl call yt Tyndals testament or Luthers testament. For so had tyndall after Luthers counsayle corrupted & chaunged yt from the good & holsom doctryne of Criste to the deuylysh heresyes of theyr own/that it was clene a contrary thing."

So also in the *Commentaria Iohannis Cochlaei, de Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri,* etc., 1549, we find this passage: "Verum Duo Angli Apostatae, qui aliquandiu fuerant Vuittenbergae, non solum quaerebant subuertere Mercatores suos, qui eos occulte in exilio fouebant & alebant: Verum etiam cunctos Angliae populos, uolente nolente Rege, breui per nouum Lutheri Testamentum, quod in Anglicanam traduxerant linguam, Lutheranos fore sperabant"—But two English apostates who sometime had been at Wittenberg, not only were seeking to ruin their own merchants, who secretly were fostering and supporting them in exile; but they were even hoping for all the people of England, whether the King were willing or unwilling, soon to become Lutherans, through Luther's New Testament, which they had translated into the English language.

And again, a few pages farther on in the same publication, in giving an account of how he discovered that the New Testament was being printed in Cologne, Cochlaeus says that several printers had told him how

England was to be won over to Luther; "Nempe uersari sub praelo Tria Milia Exemplarium Noui Testamenti Lutherani, in Anglicanam linguam translati, ac processum esse iam ad literam Alphabeti K. in ordine Quaternionum—Namely, that three thousand copies of the Lutheran New Testament, translated into the English language, were in the press, and that they had proceeded as far as the letter K in the order of quires.

Other passages showing that contemporaries considered Tyndale's New Testament at least largely a translation of Luther's Testament into English, will be given under the next head, and some additional ones, when we consider more in detail such contemporary evidence for the connection between these two men.

II

CONTEMPORARY REFERENCES TO MARGINAL NOTES, ETC

E shall now cite a few passages in which an attempt is made to establish what was considered Tyndale's manifest heretical connection with Luther, from a comparison of the *notes*, etc.. of Tyndale's New Testament with those of Luther's New Testament.

In a letter of February 24 (probably 1527) to Henry Gold, the chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Ridley writes: "Maister gold I hartly commaunde me vnto you/as concernyng this common & vulgare translation of the new testament in to englishe/doon by M. William hichyns/other wais called M. W. tyndale & frear William roy/manifest lutheranes heretikes & apostates/as doth opynly apeir not only by their daily & continuall company & familiarite with Luther & his disciples/but mych mor by their comentares & annotations in Mathew & Marcum/in the first print/also by their preface in the 2d prent/& by

their introduccion in to the epistle of paule ad romanes/ al to gither most posoned & abhominable hereses that can be thowht/he is not filius ecclessiae christi," etc. Ridley here was probably somewhat confused as to the two prints or editions referred to, for, while the first or Cologne print did have *annotations*, etc., the second or Worms print did not have a *preface*. It had an epilogue, *To the Reder*, instead. As to the *Introduction to Romans*, it might be said that the language would indicate that this statement has reference rather to a separate edition of that *Introduction*. Although it has generally been denied that a copy of such an edition is extant, there is one, without date and place of printing, in the Bodleian Library. But, as precision of language was not a prevailing virtue in that day, it is not altogether certain whether it does here refer to such a separate edition. And yet, as the earliest form or issue of this *Introduction* extant in connection with the New Testament is found in the edition of November, 1534, it must almost certainly refer to the separate edition.

Again, in *A copy of the letters wherein . . . . our souerayne lorde kyng Henry the eyght . . . . made answere vnto a certayne letter of Martyn Luther* (1526-27), we read: "And thrvpon without answere had from vs/nat onely publysshed the same letter and put it in print/of purpose that his adherentes shulde be the bolder/vnder the shadowe of our fauour/but also fell in deuyce with one or two leude persons/ borne in this our realme/for the translatyng of the

Newe testament in to Englysshe/as well with many corruptions of that holy text/as certayne prefaces/and other pestylent gloses in the margentes/for the aduauncement and settyng forthe of his abhomynable heresyes/entendynge to abuse the gode myndes and deuotion/that you oure derely beloued people beare/ towarde the holy scrypture/& to enfect you with the deedly corruption and contagious odour of his pestylent errours."

These and other passages that might be cited, refer to certain *commentaries* or *annotations* in Matthew and Mark, certain *glosses* in the margins—as well as to *prefaces* and *introductions*—as manifest evidences of Tyndale's confederacy with Luther and of the open connection of his New Testament with that of Luther.

III

EARLY BIBLIOGRAPHERS PERPLEXED

FOR a great many years, such passages as we have cited in the preceding division, perplexed bibliographers. Just what such *prefaces* and *introductions*, and especially such *annotations* or *glosses*, might have been, could not definitely be determined. There were indeed copies of later editions of Tyndale's New Testament (1534, etc.) extant; but no one knew of the existence of any copy of the earliest edition with notes, etc., reported to have been published. It is important, of course, to remember that the above two passages, as well as some others of a similar nature, belong to 1527, or even earlier. They, therefore, antedate the printing of any copy of Tyndale's New Testament with notes, definitely identified up to nearly a century ago. Even the Worms edition, *without notes*, etc., was unknown for over two centuries. Some idea as to the meaning of such passages could be formed, however, from known copies of the later editions, noted above. But even as to some of these and their real existence there

was only rumor or tradition. And the contents of those few copies that were known to be extant, were practically unknown except to their owners. Indeed, those who owned, or knew about, them, either did not have access to, or did not think of comparing them with, copies of early editions of Luther's New Testament.

Thus the real connection between the New Testaments of Luther and Tyndale was long overlooked. And, of course, references to such connection by contemporaries of these men were generally explained away as rather hasty conclusions on their part. These conclusions were supposed to have been based upon the fact that Tyndale was believed to have been at Wittenberg, and that because he, like Luther, published a New Testament, it must be that of Luther in the English language. Indeed, some contended that this was due to the fact, that work of the same nature as that of Luther was then generally attributed to, or associated with, him. So generally was this explanation of the statements of Tyndale's contemporaries accepted, that practically all connection between Tyndale and Luther was almost categorically denied. This denial, even to the extent of arbitrarily declaring that Tyndale never saw Wittenberg or had anything to do with the Continental reformer, has to a considerable extent persisted even to our own day.

IV

THE MYSTERY CLEARED UP BY THE FINDING OF THE COLOGNE FRAGMENT

E are not left entirely without evidence that throws light upon contemporary references to *certain prefaces* and *pestilent glosses*. In the year 1836 Mr. Thomas Rodd of London found, bound up with a small quarto tract of Oecolampadius, a curious fragment of 31 leaves of St. Matthew's Gospel, in old black letter type. This fragment, upon careful comparison with books printed by Peter Quentel of Cologne, was finally proved to have been printed by that printer, either during or before 1526. This date was determined chiefly from the fact that a woodcut of St. Matthew used therein, was used also, slightly cut down, in a work by Rupertus, entitled *In Matthaeum*, from the same press, bearing the date M. D. XXVI., and known to have been finished by June 12. That this New Testament fragment was therefore printed during the early months of, or before, 1526, and at Cologne, by Peter Quentel, was evident. By comparing its text with

that of later editions of Tyndale's New Testament, it was proved to be a fragment of the famous *Cologne English New Testament*, with *glosses*, etc., 1525, referred to by Cochlaeus, *et al.* This precious fragment came into the hands of Thomas Grenville, by whom it was bequeathed to the British Museum for permanent preservation.

A word should here be said also as to the history of the only complete copy of the Worms octavo edition known to be extant. Probably only about a year or two before the death of Lord Oxford (1741), Mr. John Murray somewhere purchased for him a curious copy of the New Testament, which proved to be of Tyndale's Worms or octavo edition, for which he was rewarded with a gift of ten guineas and an annuity of 20 pounds for life. Upon the dispersion of Lord Oxford's Harleian Library by the bookseller Osborne, 1743, this copy was bought by the bibliographer Ames for 15 shillings. At Langford's sale of Ames's books, May 13, 1760, it was sold for 14½ guineas to Mr. John White, who on May 13, 1776, sold it to Dr. Andrew Gifford for twenty guineas. In 1784, Dr. Gifford bequeathed it to the Baptist College at Bristol, England, where it has found a permanent resting place. Another, but very imperfect copy is in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

But as we are here dealing more particularly with what we shall now definitely call the *Cologne Frag-*

ment, above spoken of, we shall now resume our consideration of the same.

From this priceless Cologne Fragment, which was photo-lithographed and published in a limited edition by Edward Arbor in 1871, the references to pestilent glosses, etc., made by Tyndale's contemporaries—some of them as early as 1526—became clear. There is the long "prologge" or *introduction* referred to by some writers, and along the outer margin of the text are the so-called commentaries or *pestilent glosses*, in the form of explanatory notes, while along the inner margins are the *parallel references*.

Over a half century ago, even before the publication of Arbor's facsimile edition, Brooke Foss Westcott, the great New Testament critic, compared this Cologne Fragment with a copy of Luther's New Testament. The result was that he at once recognized a similarity between the two, especially as to the table of the books of the New Testament, and found that some whole paragraphs of Tyndale's *prologge* were translations from Luther's introduction. The most important results of this investigation he published in his excellent *History of the English Bible* (1868), in which he gives, however, a far more thorough analysis of Tyndale's Worms octavo New Testament and later editions, and their relation to Luther's New Testament. He, however, stoutly denied any great, or at least servile, dependence of Tyndale upon Luther as a translator.

Mr. Arbor in his *Preface* to his *facsimile reprint* gives us the results of a more careful comparison of the Cologne Fragment with Luther's New Testament, made for him by J. Baynes, Esq., of the British Museum. In addition to part of the *prologge*, a great many *notes* and *references* are here traced to Luther. Demaus, also, as the result of a similar comparison of the Cologne Fragment with Luther's *first* edition, is moved to acknowledge a very striking similarity between them, and a manifest dependence of Tyndale upon Luther, especially as to most of the *marginal notes* (*William Tyndale*, p. 129). Some other writers on the history of the English Bible, largely following these investigators, also acknowledge some such dependence. But many are unwilling to make such a concession, or rather prefer to remain silent on the subject. As very few writers have had access to copies of the earlest editions of Luther's New Testament, they have generally accepted what has been said by others, to which they have therefore added practically no further evidence. Many of them have preferred rather even to take the view of earlier writers, or have at least refused to make as much concession as did Westcott, Arbor and Demaus. Moreover, even original investigators have apparently not had access to, or at least did not compare Tyndale's Fragment with, copies of *all* the Wittenberg editions of Luther's New Testament printed before 1526, which were evidently accessible to Tyndale. Even such comparisons as have actually been made with *one* copy of Luther's New Testa-

ment, seem not to have been exhaustive. Therefore, a fresh presentation of the most important contemporary evidence, as well as such evidence as is afforded by *all* the Wittenberg editions probably accessible to Tyndale, is important.

V

CONTEMPORARIES ON TYNDALE'S ASSOCIATION WITH LUTHER

IN *A dyaloge of syr Thomas More* (1529), from which we have already quoted, folio 80, we read, "For now yt ys to be consydered that at the tyme of thys translacyon hychens was wyth Luther in wyttenberge/ and set certayne glosys in the mergent/ framed for the settyng forthe of that vngracious sect.

"By saynt John quod your frende yf that be true that Hychens were at that time with Luther/it is a playne token that he wrought sumwhat after hys counsayle/ and was wyllynge to helpe hys maters forwarde here. But whyther Luthers matters be so badde as they be made for/that shall we see hereafter.

"Very true quod I. But as touchyng the confederacye betwene Luther and hym/is a thyng well knowen and playnly confessed/by suche as haue ben taken and

conuycted here of herysye comyng from thense 'and some of them sente hyther fro sowe that sede aboute here/and to sende words thyther fro tyme to tyme how yt sprang." Then the author attempts somewhat at length to trace Tyndale's change of the words *charity*, *church* and *priesthood* or *priest* to Luther. And elsewhere More says that, as soon as Tyndale left England, he went straight to Luther. Nor did Tyndale deny that he had been at Wittenberg, but he denies only that he was a *confederate* of Luther. This undoubtedly means that he denied co-operation with Luther in the Reformation, or perhaps that he denied endorsing all Luther's acts and teachings. But it does not involve a denial of the use of his *translation*, etc. Hence, though More apparently accepted Tyndale's denial of being a confederate of Luther, in his *Confutation* issued later he still speaks of him as having been at Wittenberg.

Thus, Sir Thomas More, one of the ablest and keenest critics of his day, concluded from such evidence as he had, that Tyndale had been with Luther at Wittenberg, and that this accounted for Tyndale's *marginal glosses* and certain renderings in his translation, which he claimed he recognized as being taken from Luther's New Testament. Indeed, he declares that it was *well known* that there was an association of Tyndale with Luther, as also confessed by convicted English heretics.

Of similar import are the following words from a letter of Edward Lee to Henry VIII., Dec. 2 (1525): "Please it your highnesse morover to vnderstond 'that

I ame certainlie enformed as I passed in this contree/ that an englishman your subiect at the sollicitacion and instaunce of Luther/with whome he is/hathe translated the newe testament in to Englishe/and within four dayes entendethe to arrive with the same emprinted in England. I nede not to aduertise your grace/what infection and daunger maye ensue heerbie/if it bee not withstonded. This is the next waye to fulfill your realme with lutherians. . . . Hidretoo blessed bee god/your realme is save from infection of luthers sect," etc.

So, in *An expediat laicis*, etc., 1533, Cochlaeus says, "Etenim ante annos octo, duo ex Anglia Apostatae, qui Vuittenbergae Teuthonicam edocti linguam, Lutheri nouum testamentum in linguam Anglicanam uerterant, Coloniam Agrippinam uenerunt, tanquam ad urbem Angliae uiciniorem, mercatuque celebriorem, et nauigijs ad transmittendum aptiorem, ibique post rusticorum tumultum aliquamdiu latitantes, conduxerunt sibi in occulto Chalcographos, ut mox primo aggressu tria milia exemplarium imprimerent, Cumque eo in opere alacriter ingenti spe procederent, iactitabant conscij Bibliopolae et Chalcographi, totam Angliam breui fore Lutheranam, uelint nolint Rex et Cardinalis" —And indeed eight years before (namely, 1525), two apostates from England, who, having been taught the German language at Wittenberg, had translated Luther's New Testament into the English language, came to Cologne, as to a city nearer England, more celebrated for commerce, and better equipped with vessels for

transportation; and there after the rebellion of the peasants for a while concealing themselves, they secretly hired printers that thereupon in the first undertaking they might print three thousand copies. And while they proceeded eagerly with great hope in this work, the booksellers and printers who knew of it, boasted that all England would soon be Lutheran, whether the king and cardinal were willing or unwilling.

In like manner, the same writer in his *Scopa*, etc., 1538, speaks of the secret machinations of two Englishmen, "quibus Lutheri Testamentum nouum in Anglicanam linguam unsum, Coloniae excudebatur, ut in Angliam in multis milibus occulte transmitteretur," etc.—by whom Luther's New Testament, having been translated into the English language, was struck off at Cologne, that it might secretly be sent in many thousands into England.

So in his work, *Commentaria. . . de Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri*, from which we have already quoted, Cochlaeus speaks of two English apostates who some time had been at Wittenberg.

Fox in his *Actes and Monuments* (4th. ed., 1583), page 997, in speaking of the persecution of "Maister Humfrey Mummuth," has this, among other things, to say: "Stokesley then Bishop of London, ministred Articles unto him, to the number of xxiiij, as for adhereing to Luther and his opinions: for hauing and

reading heretical bookes and treatises, for geuing exhibition to William Tindall, Roy, and such other, for helping them ouer the sea to Luther, for ministring priuie helpe to translate, as well the Testament, as other bookes into English," etc. This he says in the light of Tyndale's denial of actual *confederacy* with Luther, and of More's later declaration that he had been with Luther, as then amply established. In this charge, which, according to the records, Monmouth did not deny, he is accused, among other things in connection with Tyndale and his association with Luther and his teachings, of assisting Tyndale even in getting to Luther. In the articles of accusation brought against Monmouth, 1528, it was, moreover, declared that he was "privy and counsel" that Tyndale and Roy went to Luther in Germany to study his sect, which declaration also Monmouth did not deny.

Then, from the further abundant evidence at hand, a little farther on in the same work Fox definitely declares, "At his first departing out of the realme, he toke his iorny into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men [probably Melanchthon, etc.] in those quarters." '

So also, in the English edition of the answer of Henry VIII. to Luther (probably March, 1527), entitled *A copy of the letters,* etc., as already quoted, Henry charged Luther with being back of Tyndale's transla-

tion of the New Testament, with its *prefaces* and *glosses*, into English.

VI

GEORGE JOYE ON TYNDALE'S ABILITY AS A TRANSLATOR

E come now to some remarkable statements by one of Tyndale's associates and co-workers, namely, George Joye, "some tyme fellow of Peter College in Cambridge," as he himself says.

After Tyndale's first two nearly simultaneous editions (Cologne Matthew, etc., and Worms) of the New Testament had appeared, some Dutch printers, not familiar with the English language, took it into their heads, probably for mercenary reasons, to reprint Tyndale's New Testament. Accordingly, at least two editions, apparently full of errors, mostly of a typographical character, appeared. Then it appears that Tyndale was urged to send forth another and corrected edition, in accordance with his promise in his "To the Reder" at the end of his Worms edition, to offset these erroneous editions, but that he delayed so long that George Joye was asked by these Dutch printers to edit their *third* edition. But Joye, it seems, declined, upon

the plea that a new and corrected edition would soon be issued by Tyndale himself. Thus another erroneous edition was printed without any aid from an English editor.

Again the printers asked Joye, and now, seeing that Tyndale still delayed in issuing a new edition, Joye consented and accordingly edited this *fourth* Dutch edition. It ended with the following colophon: "Here endeth the new Testament diligently ouersene and corrected/and prynted now agayn at Antwerpe/by me wydowe of Christoffel of Endhouē. In the yere of oure Lorde. M.CCCCC. and. xxxiiij. in August." The only copy of this edition extant is in the Grenville Collection of the British Museum. It might also be stated that not a single copy of any of the earlier surreptitious editions printed between Tyndale's Worms edition of 1525-26 and this edition edited by Joye, survived the desolation of the English Reformation. Therefore, nothing further than mere report or rumor is known of them, although the market of the time was flooded with these reprints or imitations, even as to a much greater extent the German book market was flooded from many presses with reprints of Luther's matchless translation of the New Testament and other parts of the Bible, as well as of the whole Bible, against which he repeatedly protested.

Tyndale would, however, now no longer allow these surreptitious and poorly edited editions to circulate among the English people, unchallenged and without a

corrected competitor. He accordingly, in November of the same year, followed this edition edited by Joye with a more correct edition of his own. In this appeared a second preface, "Willyam Tindale/yet once more to the christen reader." In this he bitterly takes Joye to task for supposedly corrupting the text of his translation. A temporary reconciliation between Tyndale and Joye, brought about by friends, followed. Thereupon Joye issued a second edition, dated January 9, 1535, in which, in an address "Vnto the Reader," though mildly defending his former edition, he sets forth the terms of agreement between himself and Tyndale. Another break, probably caused by this explanation of Joye, followed. Then Joye issued a lengthy defense of his position, February 27, 1535, entitled "An apologye made by George Ioye to satisfye (if it maye be) w. Tindale," etc., the only known extant copy of which is in the Library of the University of Cambridge, England.

In this tract Joye gives an account of the temporary agreement between himself and Tyndale, which he says Tyndale has broken. He then defends himself against Tyndale's vehement attacks upon him in the *second preface* to the November edition of his New Testament—in the second part quoting and answering Tyndale's *preface*, paragraph by paragraph. Although Joye was no doubt moved, by his controversy with Tyndale, to unusual bitterness and some exaggeration, his testimony is here given for what it may be worth in the

light of the comparison of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment with Luther's New Testament, to be given later.

Near the beginning of the second part of this tract, in commenting upon Tyndale's statement about having again looked over the New Testament and compared it with the Greek, Joye says, "It was but loked ouer in deed nothinge performing his so large promyses added in the later ende of his first translacion [Worms] to the reader/and I wounder how he coude compare yt with greke sith himselfe is not so exquysitely sene thereyn." In this paragraph he declares that Tyndale was not very proficient in the Greek language, and this apparently without fear of refutation on the part of either Tyndale or his friends.

Incidentally, it should be said that this statement by Joye about "promyses added in the later ende of the first translacion to the reader," clearly implies that the first *completed* edition of the New Testament was the small *octavo,* without *marginal notes* and *preface,* printed at Worms. It is thus evident that the interrupted *Cologne edition* was never finished. From various other contemporary statements, we have come to the conclusion that it was finished, however, to the end of Mark. And this would seem altogether possible. When Cochlaeus discovered the printing of the New Testament, he found that it had been completed to signature K. But, it is altogether likely that the type had already been set up for additional sheets, some of which may even also have been struck off before Tyndale

knew that he was discovered, and therefore before he and his co-worker William Roye started on their flight up the Rhine toward Worms. And, even if not actually struck off, it is quite likely that the type as far as set up, together with the necessary sheets, was taken along by the refugees, who may even have had sympathetic laborers or other assistants to help them. Thus, it is altogether probable that the Cologne edition was actually completed to the end of Mark, only Matthew as far as the end of signature H, or more definitely as far as the twelfth verse of the twenty-second chapter, being extant in the famous Grenville Fragment. This would also explain the contemporary references to an edition of Matthew and Mark. But, from what we have said above, it is equally certain that the whole New Testament was not thus completed, as is often asserted by writers. Moreover, the type and paper of the Cologne press could hardly have been matched by type and paper at Worms, so as to make a homogeneous book.

The points noted above should therefore establish the fact, that the *Worms edition* was the *first completed* printed edition of the New Testament in English. This is even implied in Tyndale's *To the Reder* in that edition, in which he makes an apology, "that the rudnes off the worke nowe at the fyrst tyme/offende them not." The same is implied in his prologue *To the Reder* in his Genesis of 1530, in which he speaks of the Worms edition as his translation of the New Testament, to which he "added a pistle vnto the latter ende."

It is, indeed, true that Cochlaeus speaks of the publication of a quarto edition at Worms, but this is apparently a statement only from memory, as he wrote this some years after the first appearance of the book he describes. He was therefore probably somewhat confused as to the precise facts. It is not altogether unlikely that he had reference to the fragmentary edition of Matthew and Mark, spoken of above.

But, to resume our analysis of Joye's account, two pages farther on he says, "And what T. dothe I wote not/he maketh me nothing of his counsel/I se nothyng come from him all this longe whyle. wherin with the helpe that he hathe/that is to saye one bothe to wryte yt and to correke it in the presse/he myght haue done it thryse sence he was first moued to do it. For T. I know wel was not able to do yt with out siche an helper which he hathe euer had hitherto." In this paragraph, in defending his action in co-operating with the Dutch printers in issuing an edition, Joye charged Tyndale with unnecessary delay in himself issuing a revised edition, declaring that with such helpers as he had there was no excuse, while he incidentally points out a very prominent part these helpers had in the work of translating and printing.

Of these two helpers he says a page later, "And as for his two disciplis that gaped so longe for their masters morsel that thei might haue the aduauntage of the sale of his bokis of which one sayd vnto me. It were almose he were hanged that correcketh the testa-

ment for the dewch/and the tother harped on his masters vntwned string/saying that because I englissh Resurreccion the lyfe aftir this/men gathered that I denied the general resurreccion: which errour (by their own sayng) was gathred longe before this boke was printed/vnto which ether of theis disciples I semed no honest man for correcking the copye/I wil not now name them/nor yet shew how one of them/neuer I dare say seyng. *s. Ierome de optimo genere interpretandi/* yet toke vpon him to teche me how I shuld translat the scripturis/where I shuld geue worde for worde/and when I shulde make scholias/notis/and gloses in the mergent as himself and hys master doith. But in good faithe as for me I had as lief put the trwthe in the text as in the margent," etc. Joye here defends himself not merely against Tyndale but also against his two associates, and incidentally throws some light upon the method used by Tyndale and his helpers in the work of translating and annotating the text, apparently attributing at least the glosses to them as much as to Tyndale. He apparently here refers to some mechanical process in translating, perhaps implying even the *copying* of notes, etc., the source of which Joye no doubt well knew.

In reply to Tyndale's appeal to God that he wrote nothing out of envy or malice, or in order to stir up false doctrine, Joye says: "Here is an holy othe broken/and a perellouse desyer/yf the contrary to be trewe/For here he rayleth vpon me/he belyeth me/

he sclaundereth me and that most spightfully with a perpetual infamye: whiche al yf yt be not of enuy/ malice/and hatred of what els shulde yt spring?" Then immediately follows this startling statement: "And euen here for all his holy protestacions/yet herd I neuer sobre and wyse man so prayse his owne workis as I herde him praise his exposicion of the v. vj. and vij. ca. Mat. in so myche that myne eares glowed for shame to here him/and yet was it Luther that made it/ T. onely translating and powldering yt here and there with his own fantasies. which praise methought yt then better to haue ben herde of a nother mannis mouth/ for it declared out of what affeccion yt sprang euen farre vnlyk and contrarye vnto these whiche he now professeth and protesteth so holely for wordis be the messageris of mennis myndis." In the first part of this passage Joye attempts to show that Tyndale was moved with envy, etc., to make his bitter attack upon himself. Then he endeavors to show that back of Tyndale's attitude of envy, etc., there was really pride, as manifested by his praise of his own works. As an instance he cites Tyndale's *Exposition of Matthew v.—vii.*, which Joye declares Tyndale merely translated and adapted from Luther. And, while Tyndale unmistakably based his *Exposition* upon, and freely used, Luther's *Expository Sermons* of 1530 (printed in 1532), it should, however, be said that he used them in a manner that might be considered more legitimate than that with which he used Luther's glosses and some other of his writings.

In a passage following the above, in commenting upon Tyndale's professed motive in translation, Joye says among other things: "For in good fayth/ and as I shal answere before god/ere he came to one place of the testament to be last corrected/I tolde his scrybe/ euen him that wrote and correckted the testament for him/that there was a place in the begynnyng of the vj. cap. of the actis somwhat derkely translated at fyrst/ and that I had mended it in my correction and bode him shew yt Tin. to mende yt also/yf yt be so sene vnto him/and I dare saye he shewd yt him/but yet because I fownde the fawte and had corrected yt fefore/ Tin. had leuer to haue let yt (as he did for all my warnyng) stande styll derkely in his new correccion," etc. Then follows the passage spoken of. Joye here speaks of an assistant of Tyndale, who, he says, wrote and corrected the Testament for him, as a fact to him well known. Nor does the passage imply merely a mechanical copying. In speaking of this corrector, Joye does not, however, imply that Tyndale was not also properly active in this work of translation. He also speaks of a correction which he pointed out, through this assistant, to Tyndale, but says that, because it was he who pointed it out, Tyndale would rather let it stand than have it corrected to Joye's credit.

A few pages later, he defends himself against Tyndale's criticism of the changes in his (Joye's) edition of the New Testament, in the following words: "And I saye/I haue made many changes which yf T. had had

siche sight in the greke as he pretendeth and conferred yt diligently with the greke as he sayth he did/he shulde haue made the same changes him selfe/which places I shal poynt him to here after/but yet let Tindale loke ouer his Testament once agene and conferre yt a lytle beter withe the verite and greke to/I wolde euery man wolde compare my correction wyth his/and marke well euery change/and he shall se that I changed some wordis and sentencis/which T. aftir me was compelled euen as I did/so to change and correcke them himselfe." In this passage Joye again speaks of certain corrections that he made, but which were overlooked by Tyndale (1534 edition), and of others that Tyndale adopted, strongly hinting at only ordinary knowledge of the Greek language on the part of Tyndale, as against what he professed.

And again, about two pages still farther on, in speaking of Tyndale's supposed evasiveness in defending his translation, Joye adds: "If he were so wel sene in the greek as he maketh him selfe/doing siche diligence in this his correccion as he pretendeth and professeth/he shulde haue lefte out some of so many vayne and fryuole notis in the mergent nothing corresponding nor expowning the texte." Following this statement he cites examples in illustration. In this passage also Joye seriously questions Tyndale's professed knowledge of Greek, as shown in his 1534 edition of the New Testament, especially in some alleged inapplicable notes, as well as in various uncorrected erroneous passages in the translation.

This testimony of George Joye, which we have given somewhat at length, is before us. But it would not do for any one to pass hasty judgment upon this testimony alone. Further evidence is available, especially from Tyndale's Testament. And only in the light of all the evidence can one really pass an unbiased intelligent judgment. To what extent Joye's testimony is *reliable*, will appear from our examination of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment itself.

VII

CONTEMPORARY TESTIMONY DISCREDITED BY MOST HISTORIANS

T has stoutly been denied by some writers that Tyndale was ever at Wittenberg, or even that he was to any marked extent dependent upon Luther. Thus Christopher Anderson in his well-known *Annals of the English Bible* (1845 and 1862) firmly declares: "This idea of Tyndale's immediate and intimate confederacy with Luther, and his dependence upon him, originally imported from abroad, through men who were, at the moment, under the torture of examination in England, has been repeated from Sir Thomas More and John Cochlaeus, two determined enemies, not to say John Foxe, a decided friend, down to Herbert Marsh in our own day; but it is more than time that it should be exploded" (p. 24). As a proof of this statement, Anderson refers to Tyndale's denial of being a *confederate* of Luther, which we have already explained.

Another supposed proof Anderson cites, is the fact

that in Monmouth's appeal for release from the Tower of London—where he was imprisoned for financially aiding Tyndale and abetting his heresies—he says that Monmouth paid Tyndale ten pounds when he went to Hamburg and "that *within a year* after he sent *from Hamburg* for other ten pounds which he had left in his hands, and that *thither* he had sent it to him" (*Ibid.*, p. 25). From this Anderson draws the unwarranted conclusion that Tyndale "remained in Hamburg throughout 1524." Indeed, it is only natural that Hamburg, where he first stopped, should be the place from which to appeal to Monmouth for more funds; but it is faulty reasoning to conclude that Tyndale remained there during that whole interval of a year, especially in the light of abundant contemporary evidence and abundant circumstantial internal evidence from his New Testament—to be given later—to the contrary. Moreover, Anderson falsely quotes Tyndale, when he says, "More had affirmed that Tyndale 'was *with* Luther *in* Wittenberg'; and Tyndale replies, 'that is not truth'" (*Ibid.*, p. 26). The words of Tyndale, "that is not truth," are Tyndale's answer to the charge that he was a *confederate* of Luther, as explained before, not to a charge that he was in Wittenberg, or with Luther.

So Anderson's further contention that Luther was then so occupied with his controversy with Carlstadt, etc., as to forbid approach by Tyndale, is altogether contrary to what is well known concerning Luther's general character and approachableness. Anderson's statements that "Tyndale was not at present, nor

indeed *ever was,* a Lutheran," and that "as a scholar, he needed neither assistance nor advice, from a man with whom he could have conversed only through the medium of Latin" (*Ibid.,* p. 26), are mere groundless assertions. That Tyndale bodily incorporated, by merely translating them from the German, whole pages of Luther's writings, not only in his New Testament *prologue* and in his *introductions* to separate books, but also in some of his *tracts,* is an open secret, as we could easily show. And what appears later from our comparisons between the New Testaments of Luther and Tyndale, should be evidence enough, that Tyndale did abundantly rely upon, and freely use, Luther's New Testament. Even Cochlaeus in *An expediat,* as already noted, declares that Tyndale and Roye learned the German language at Wittenberg.

Moreover, Anderson's quotation from Tyndale's "To the Reder" at the end of his "Worms" New Testament (1525-26), that he "had no man to *counterfeit*" (*Annals,* p. 27), affords no proof for his contention that Tyndale worked independently of Luther. Tyndale there defends only his honest endeavor to translate as well as his gifts or qualifications enabled him, beseeching his Christian readers that they should consider how that he "had no man to counterfet/ nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same/or soche lyke thīge ī the scripture before tyme." This would rather mean that he was not imitating or following any other *English translation.* Indeed, he definitely says, "nether was holpe with englysshe," etc.;

but he does not make any such statement as to other languages. In the light of this interpretation, these words are no doubt correct, as he was certainly not following the beaten path of any previous *English* translator. The English of Wycliffe's version was not that of Tyndale's time. At any rate, Tyndale apparently did not follow Wycliffe's *translation* to any great extent. But, if his biographers, and writers on the history of the English Bible, insist that he meant versions in other modern languages, then the evidence is overwhelming that this statement would not be correct. On the contrary, it would then seem rather that he was somewhat *afraid* that he might be thought to have followed Luther, or to be a confederate of the German reformer, and that he meant thus to offset such suspicion, as there was much bitterness manifested against Luther, while the English people and their rulers were then not much acquainted with his German version.

We are surprised that Westcott accepted Anderson's conclusions, apparently even without further investigation. In a note at the foot of page 36 of his *History of the English Bible,* he says, "Mr. Anderson successfully disposes of the common tradition that he [Tyndale] visited Luther at this time [1524] . . . Luther indeed was otherwise engaged." Westcott also denied that Tyndale was sufficiently acquainted with German up to the time his New Testament was finished, largely basing his conclusion upon the absence of German from the languages ascribed to Tyndale in Spalatin's dairy, as reported by Busche (*Ibid.,* p. 174). But

this omission is only natural for the German Busche, who, while exaggerating Tyndale's knowledge of other languages, apparently passed over the German as naturally implied.

And yet, Westcott himself admitted that Tyndale's *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount* (1532), was traceable to Luther's German *Expository Sermons* of 1530, as the Latin translation was not made till 1533. He even admitted the possibility of Tyndale's using notes taken by himself, or by some one else (*Ibid.*, p. 196). Indeed, as those German sermons did not appear in print till 1532—the same year in which Tyndale's Exposition appeared—it seems altogether likely that Tyndale was one of the entranced audience that heard Luther deliver them, and that he was therefore quite familiar with the German, to appreciate a discourse. Indeed, it is probable that Tyndale was at Wittenberg most of the time from 1527 to 1530. Westcott also acknowledges (*History*, etc., pp. 194-195) that in his *Prologue to Romans* Tyndale freely used both the German and the Latin of Luther's *Preface*. In like manner does he admit that in his short prefaces to various other books in his 1534 edition, Tyndale largely used Luther's German prefaces. He even concedes that this edition indicates, if anything, more dependence upon Luther than do his earlier editions (*Ibid.*, pp. 198-199). However, this is probably due to the fact that he did not fully recognize the extent to which those earlier editions (Cologne and Worms) were dependent upon Luther's earlier editions. De-

maus also acknowledges the dependence of Tyndale upon both Luther's Latin and German *Prologue to Romans* (*William Tyndale,* pp. 145-146). However, he erroneously says that no copy of this Prologue by Tyndale in separate form is extant.

It should be said here that, although Ames, Hazlitt and Lowndes note such a separate edition of this *Prologue,* it would by no means necessarily follow from *this* that it now exists. There has been some confusion among bibliographers as to a number of those early prints, some being reported apparently from mere *rumor.* Thus, they have reported several editions of Tyndale's New Testament, both surreptitious and genuine, of which there are certainly no known copies extant. However, the Librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England, reports to the writer a copy of *Tyndale's Introduction to Romans* in that famous Library, and he has kindly also furnished him with a description of the same. This separate edition of the *Compendious Introduccion to pistle to Romayns* agrees generally with the version found in the 1534 edition of the New Testament. It is, however, three pages shorter, ending with the words, "the weaknes off my fayth and encrease it." But, whether it was printed in 1526, as is assumed, is not certain, as it bears neither date nor place of printing.

But, that this *Introduccion* in this separate form was printed before its appearance in the 1534 edition of the New Testament, is evident from several facts

that become apparent by comparing the two, especially the fact that it is the shorter and less complete form of it. This is also in line with early contemporary references to this *Introduccion*, as though it circulated as a separate tract. In the light of these facts it is altogether probable that it was printed some time during the year 1526, as has generally been believed.

Westcott's own observation (*History*, p. 185) that in the 1534 edition Tyndale approaches more closely to the Greek original, should have suggested to him that Tyndale's acquaintance with Greek was considerably less in 1525 than in 1534. And yet, despite this fact, he states (p. 182) or implies (p. 185) that Tyndale's 1534 edition even more closely approaches Luther's translation than do his 1525 editions. This, then, should also be a convincing evidence of the general accuracy of Luther's translation in the estimation of Tyndale—in the light of his further study—notwithstanding his liberal use of it in 1525. Moreover, Tyndale's partial dependence upon Luther in his 1525 edition, Westcott also acknowledges (pp. 193, sq.).

Among other writers who deny that Tyndale was ever at Wittenberg, etc., are Henry Walter, in his Biography of Tyndale in *The Parker Society's* publication of *Tyndale's Works*, 1848; but his arguments are even less satisfactory than are those of Anderson and Westcott. So, also, W. F. Moulton, in his *History of the English Bible*, 1878, denies that Tyndale spent any time at Wittenberg, as also he denies practically all

connection of Tyndale's translation with Luther's (pp. 87, sq.). But, that Moulton either was unfamiliar with Luther's translation, or that he did not compare it with Tyndale's, is evident from his many errors as to the source of certain of Tyndale's renderings (pp. 76-78, and elsewhere)—most of which we have traced directly to Luther.

Many other writers, even apparently without any further investigation, have accepted the statements of these men and have been led to make extravagant claims for Tyndale, which can not bear the light of intelligent scholarship. Thus, Pattison, in his otherwise rather readable *History of the English Bible,* writes thus: "He [Tyndale] has been charged with drawing his inspiration from Luther, but some years before Luther's Bible appeared, Tyndale's mind was full of the purpose of translating the New Testament, and between his work and that of the German Reformer there are only such points of resemblance as are natural in the work of men so like-minded as were they. It was to the Greek text of Erasmus and to his Latin version that Tyndale turned when he set himself to his task" (pp. 47-48). To be sure, Luther's complete Bible appeared first in 1534, but here it is his New Testament that we are dealing with, and that appeared in September, 1522, not to speak of other smaller parts or passages of the Bible, some of which appeared as early as 1517.

A similar misstatement is found in Conant's *Eng-*

lish Bible (1856), on page 124, for which there is no excuse whatever, as it is not founded upon fact, but upon mere theory or prevenient wish. Even Arber denies that Tyndale ever was at Wittenberg or ever met Luther (*The First Printed English New Testament,* p. 20), but also altogether without any proof.

The quotation from the diary of Spalatin, entry for August, 1526, often referred to in proof that Tyndale was an unusual linguist, but that he was not familiar with the German language, might here be further examined. It is not Spalatin who thus praised Tyndale's linguistic ability, but he says that one Herman Buschius reported the printing of 6,000 copies of the English Testament at Worms, "translated by an Englishman who lived there with two of his countrymen, who was so complete a master of seven languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Brittanic, French, that you would fancy that whichever one he spoke in was his mother tongue." This was therefore only a rumor, and by the time it had reached Spalatin it had assumed the form of exaggeration, which it so clearly is. And, of course, as reported by a German to Germans, of a man who was known to have been living for some time in Germany, it was apparently considered that German was *implied* in the statement.

VIII

CONTEMPORARY TESTIMONY ACCEPTED BY SOME WRITERS

THERE are writers on Tyndale and the history of the English Bible who accept the testimony of contemporaries that Tyndale was at Wittenberg during part of 1524 and 1525. Thus, Ellis, in his *William Tyndale* (1890), on page 31, after citing some contemporary evidence, concludes thus: "It seems, therefore, probable that almost immediately after his landing at Hamburg, Tyndale made his way to Wittenberg." As a probable reason, he cites Tyndale's admiration of Luther and his sense of loneliness. Likewise, G. Barnett Smith, in his work on *William Tyndale,* page 34, also acknowledges that Tyndale and Roye were in Wittenberg. In these conclusions these two authors, as do some others, avowedly follow Damaus in his *William Tyndale,* a part of whose arguments they quote.

Of similar conviction is Hoare, "The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries supports the view that he

was at Wittenberg with Luther, and that he worked there at his translation. His modern biographers, on the other hand, keep him in Hamburg for the whole interval" (*The Evolution of the English Bible*, 1901, p. 125). The same author also says, "Speaking generally it may be said that up to the year 1523 Tyndale remained more or less the disciple of his earliest instructors, John Colet and Erasmus. Thenceforward he felt very strongly the influence of Luther" (*Ib.*, p. 109). On page 130 he also acknowledges a somewhat close relation of Tyndale's Cologne New Testament to that of Luther, and yet ascribes to Tyndale originality and independence as a translator, at first hand, of the Greek text. He, however (p. 131), denies that Tyndale was a Lutheran or a sectarian of any kind, basing his denial upon Tyndale's words in the edition of 1534, that he did not mean to stir up false doctrine or be the author of any sect. But this is wholly inconclusive, as Luther also openly denied both.

This dependence of Tyndale upon Luther, Eadie in his great work, *The English Bible* (Vol. I, pp. 143 *sq.*), also to some extent acknowledges. But he, too, denies that Tyndale was a Lutheran (p. 122), yet with equal inconclusiveness. Mombert, in his *Hand Book of the English Versions*, also acknowledges that Tyndale was at Wittenberg (p. 83), and that he was somewhat dependent upon Luther (p. 89). Stoughton, in his *Our English Bible* (p. 80), also accepts this conclusion. That Tyndale spent some time at Wittenberg is also the position taken by Jacobs in his

work on *The Lutheran Movement in England,* in which he points out not only a manifest general dependence of Tyndale, but also of other English reformers, upon Luther. Among other writers who in the main have accepted this general view, may be mentioned Froude, Green, Offor, Kenyon, Pollard and Price.

A number of able writers—among them Fuller, Hallam, Marsh and LeLong—have not only acknowledged that Tyndale was under the influence of Luther, but they have gone even so far as to hold that he translated his New Testament merely from the Latin Vulgate and Luther's German, and that he was a man of but ordinary scholarship.

Without going to that extreme, we believe, however, without the shadow of a doubt, that, as his contemporaries so repeatedly declared, Tyndale was with Luther at Wittenberg and that probably there he did most of his work of translating the New Testament. As to his ability as a translator, etc., our estimate will appear later. It was also probably in Wittenberg during 1524 or early 1525, that Tyndale was joined by Roye, who for some time became his necessary assistant for the speedy translation and preparation of the copy for the printer.

But we must conclude this part of our discussion with a brief summary of what seem to be unmistakable historic facts. In 1525 we find Tyndale again at Hamburg, where he received a second installment

of money from Monmouth. Thence Tyndale and Roye went to Cologne, where the printing was carried through at least as far as signature K (10 quires), when is was interrupted by that inveterate foe of the Reformation, John Doebneck, better known as Cochlaeus. Thence they fled up the Rhine to Lutheran Worms, where the octavo edition was prepared, and printed by Peter Schoeffer, and where the quarto edition, with notes, etc., interrupted at Cologne, was probably also completed to the end of Mark, thus explaining many contemporary references to these Gospels.

While Tyndale was at Cologne and at Worms, engaged in printing his Testament, William Roye was his intimate companion and helper, as already noted. Even during his work of translation, which we believe was largely performed at Wittenberg, Roye was also supposed to have assisted him. But this helper apparently left Tyndale early in 1526. Then Joye, of whose testimony concerning Tyndale we have spoken somewhat at length, was associated with Tyndale about four years later, and probably much earlier. We find *references* to him in connection with Tyndale already in documents relating to 1529 and 1530. Thus, he is spoken of in *Halle's Chronicle* as co-translator of the New Testament, with Tyndale. In 1533 he even made a personal appeal by letter to the King and Queen of England for a license to translate Scripture.

Joye was apparently for three or four years with the English refugees at Antwerp, and was seemingly

quite closely associated with Tyndale. Even his polemical *Apologye,* from which we have quoted, incidentally throws considerable light upon the intimate association of Joye with Tyndale. In addition to the evidence of his connection with Tyndale that appears in passages already quoted, near the end of his *Apologye* he appealingly declares: "But yt was thou [Tyndale] my nowne felowe/my companion in lyke perel and persecution/my familiare/so well knowne/vnto whom I committed solouingly my secretis/with whom gladly I went into the house of god." Nor did Tyndale anywhere deny this close former association.

Joye's statements concerning Tyndale's ability as a translator and his dependence upon Luther, as to glosses, text, etc., though they need not wholly be accepted should, therefore, have considerable evidential value in arriving at the true measure of Tyndale as a Greek scholar and Bible translator. He knew Tyndale intimately, and his methods in translation, at first hand, as well as through others. And, as we shall see, the following direct comparison of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment with Luther's Testament, largely confirms Joye's testimony, however unfortunate we may regard his acrimonious attack upon Tyndale to have been.

The general testimony of Tyndale's contemporaries as to his connection with Luther and his dependence upon him as a translator, can not lightly be disregarded. Nor can the statements of George Joye be set aside as of no evidential value, because of the unfortunate per-

sonal differences between him and Tyndale. The testimony is before us, and only positive counter-testimony to neutralize it could convince the unbiased reader to the contrary. Indeed, there has been no lack of attempts to overcome this contemporary testimony, as we have indicated; but all such attempts have failed to establish Tyndale's supposedly *extraordinary* ability and *independence* as a translator.

We have already shown how the finding of the fragment of the quarto Cologne New Testament threw new light upon contemporary accounts. We have learned that some direct dependence of Tyndale's New Testament upon Luther's has been pointed out by various investigators, however much certain writers have tried to deny this dependence. In *Part Two* we shall proceed to a fresh and thorough examination of the contents of that Cologne Fragment in further development of this long debated subject. Thus we shall be able to determine to what extent, if any, the testimony of Tyndale's contemporaries is reliable.

Part Two

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL FACTS

I

THE "PROLOGGE"

THAT Tyndale's *prologge* is in good part taken from Luther is even already an open secret. Two entire pages of this *prologge* are a literal translation of what constitutes over half of Luther's *Vorrhede* alone.

The following is a reproduction in parallel columns of the part of Luther's introduction used by Tyndale and Tyndale's version or use of it. We reproduce the *Vorrhede* of Luther, as well as the *prologge* of Tyndale, from the beginning, as far as Tyndale more openly followed Luther. The point at which Tyndale directly begins to translate Luther, and his bodily appropriation of whole paragraphs, is, of course, readily recognized by the reader.

We give Luther's *Vorrhede verbatim et literatim* from his *first* edition—indicating variations, other than those of mere spelling, in the second and third editions —as also we give Tyndale's *prologge* from the Cologne

Fragment. Hence, some apparent errors in spelling, etc., even for that day.

THE TWO INTRODUCTIONS

Luther: First Edition September, 1522

Vorrhede

Es were wol recht vnd billich/ das dis buch on alle vorrhede vnnd frembden namen

Tyndale: Cologne Fragment 1525

The Prologge.

I haue here translated (brethern and susters moost dere and tenderly beloued in Christ) the newe Testament for youre spirituall edyfyinge/consolacion/ and solas: Exhortynge instantly and besescynge those that are better sene in the tongs then y/ and that have hyer gyfts of grace to interpret the sence of the scripture/ and meanynge of the spyrite/then y/to consydre and pondre my laboure/and that with the spyrite of mēkenes. And yf they perceyve in eny places that y have not attayned the very sence of the tonge/or meanynge of the scripture/or haue not geven the right englysshe worde/that they put to there hands to amende it/rememrynge that so is there duetie to doo. For we have not receyved the gyfts of god for oureselues only/or forto hyde them: but forto bestowe them vnto the hononringe of god and christ/ and edyfyinge of the congregacion/which is the body of christ.

¶The causes that moved me to translate/y thought better that other shulde ymagion/

auszgieng/vnnd nur seyn selbs eygen namen vnd rede furete/ Aber die weyl durch manche wilde deuttung vnd vorrhede/ der Christen synn da hyn vertriebē ist/das man schier nit [/nicht in eds. 2 & 3/] mehr weys/was Euangeli oder gesetz/new oder alt testament/ heysse/fodert die noddurfft eyn antzeygen vñ vorrhede zu stellen/da mit der eynfelltige man/aus seynem allten wahn/ auff die rechte ban gefuret vnd vnterrichtet werde/ wes er ynn disem buch, gewartten solle/auff das er nicht gepott vnnd gesetze suche/da er Euangeli vnd verheyssung Gottis suchen sollt.

Darumb ist auffs erste zu wissen/das abtzuthun ist der wahn/das vier Euangelia vnd nur vier Euangelisten sind/ vñ gantz zuverwerffen/has etlich des newen testaments bucher teyllen/ynn legales/historiales /Prophetales/vnnd sapientiales /vermeynen damit (weysz nicht wie) das newe/dem alten testament zuuergleychen/ Sondern festiglich zu halten/das gleych wie das allte testament ist eyn buch/ darynnen Gottis gesetz vñ gepot/ da neben die geschichte beyde dere die selben gehallten vnd nicht gehallten haben/geschrieben sind/ Also ist das newe testament/ eyn buch/darynnen das Euangelion vnd Gottis verheyssung

then that y shulde rehearce them. More over y supposed yt superflnous/for who ys so blynde to axe why lyght shulde be shewed to them that walke in dercknes/where they cannot but stomble/and where to stomble ys the daunger of eternall dammacion/other so despyghtfull that he wolde envye eny man (y speake nott his brother) so necessary a thinge /or so bedlem madde to affyrme that good is the naturall cause of euell/and derknes to procede oute of lyght/and that lying shulde be grounded in trougth and verytie/and nott rather clene contrary/ that lyght destroyeth dercknes/and veritie reproveth all manner lyinge.

¶Also hit has plcasyd god to put in my mynde/and also to geue me grace to translate this forerehearced newe testament into oure englysshe tonge/how esoever we haue done it. I supposed yt very necessary to put you in remembrance of certayne poynts/which are: that ye well vnderstonde what these words meane. ¶The olde testament. ¶The newe testamēt. ¶the lawe. ¶The gospell. ¶Moses. ¶Christ. ¶Nature. ¶Grace. ¶Workinge and belevynge. ¶Dedes and faythe/ Lest we astrybe/to the one that which belongeth to the other/and make of Christ Moses/of the gospell the Lawe/despise grace and robbe faythe: and fall frõm

/danebe auch geschichte beyde /dere die dran glewben vnd nit glewben/geschrieben sind/Also das man gewissz sey/das nur eyn Euāgelion sey/gleych wie nur eyn buch des newen testaments/vnd nur eyn glawb /vnd nur eyn Gott/der do verheysset.

Denn Euangelion ist eyn kriechlisch wortt/vñ heyst auff deutsch/gute botschafft/gute meher/gutte newzeytung/gutt geschrey/ dauon man singet/ saget vñ frolich ist/gleych als do Dauid den grossen Goliath vberwand/kam eyn gutt geschrey/ vnd trostlich newtzeyttung vnter das ludisch volck/das yhrer grewlicher feynd ershlagen/ vnd sie erloset/ zu freud vnd frid gestellet weren/dauon sie sungen vñ sprungen vnnd frohlich waren /Also ist dis Euangelion Gottis vnnd new testament/eyn gutte meher vñ geschrey ynn alle wellt erschollen durch die Apostell/von eynem rechten Dauid /der mit der sund/tod vnnd teuffel gestritten/vnd vberwunden hab/vnnd damit alle die szo ynn sunden gefangen /mit dem todt geplagt wom teuffel vberweldigt gewesen/ on yhr verdienst erloset/rechtfertig/lebendig vnd selig gemacht hat/ vnd da mit zu frid meke lernynge into ydle despicious/braulinge and scoldynge aboute words.

¶The old testamēt is a boke/ where in is wrytten the lawe and cōmaundmēts of god/and the dedes of them which fulfill them/and of them also which fulfill them nott.

¶The newe testamēt is a boke where in are coteyned the promyses of god/and the dedes of them which beleue them or beleue them nott.

Euāgeliō (that we cal the gospel) is a greke worde/ & signyfyth good/mery/glad and ioyfull tydings/ that maketh a mannes hert glad/ and maketh hym synge/ daunce and leepe for ioye. As when Davyd had kylled Galyath the geañt/ cam glad tydings vnto the iewes/ that their fearfull and cruell enemy was slayne/and they delyvered oute of all daunger: for gladnes were of/they songe/ daunsed/and wer ioyfull. In lyke manner is the evangelion of god (which we call gospell/ and the newe tostamēt) ioyfull tydings/and as some saye: a good hearing publisshed by the apostles through oute all the worlde/of Christ the right Davyd howe that he hathe fought with synne/with dethe/ and the devill/and over cume them. Whereby all mē that were in Bōdage to synne/ woūded with dethe/ ouercū of the devill/are with oute there awne meritts or deservings/

gestellet/vnd Gott wider heym bracht/dauon sie singen/dancken Gott/loben vnd frolich sind ewiglich/ szo sie des anders fest glawben/vnd ym glawben bestendig bleyben.

losed/ iustyfyed/ restored to lyfe/and saved/brought to libertie/and reconciled vnto the favour of god/and sett at one with hym agayne: which tydings as many as beleve/ laude prayse and thancke god/are glad/synge and daunce for ioye.

Solch geschrey vnd trostliche mehre odder Euangelisch vnd Gotlich newzeyttung / heyst auch eyn new testament/darumb/dz gleych wie eyn testament ist/wenn eyn sterbender man seyn gutt bescheydet nach seynem todt den benandten erben aus zu teylen/Also hatt auch Christus fur seynem sterben befolhen vnd bescheyden/ solchs Euangelion nach seynem todt/aus zuruffen ynn alle wellt /vnd damit allen/die do glewbē/ zu eygen geben alles seyn gutt/das ist/seyn leben da mit er den todt verschlungen/seyn gerectigkeyt da mit er die sund vertilget/vnd seyn seligkeyt damit er die ewige verdamnis vberwunden hat/Nu kan yhe der arme mensch/ynn sunden/ todt vñ zur helle verstrickt/ nichts trostlichers horen/denn solch thewre lieblich botschafft võ Christo/vñ mus seyn hertz von grund lachen vnd frolich druber werden/wo ers glewbt das war sey.

¶This evangelion or gospell /that is to say/suche ioyfull tydings/is called the newe testament. Because that as a man when he shall dye apoynteth his goodds to be dealte and distributed after hys dethe amonge them which he nameth to be his heyres. Even so Christ before his dethe commaunded and appoynted that suche evangelion/ gospell/ or tydyngs shulde be declared through oute all the worlde/ and there with to geue vnto all that beleve all his goodds/that is to saye/his lyfe/where with he swalowed and devoured vp dethe: his rightewesnes/where with he bānyshed synne: his salvacion/where with he overcam eternall damancion. Nowe can the wretched man (that is wrapped in synne/and is in daunger to dethe and hell) heare no moare ioyus a thynge /then suche glad and comfortable tydings/of Christ. So that he cannot but be glad and laugh from the lowe bottom of his hert/if he beleve that the tydyngs are trewe.

Nu hat Gott solchen glawben

¶To strength such feythe

zu stercken/dises seyn Euangelion vnd testament viel felltig ym allten testament durch die propheten ver sprochē [verheyssen, in third edition]/wie Paulus sagt Ro. 1. [i, in third ed.] Ich byn aussgesondert zu predigen das Euangelion Gottis/ wilchs er zuuor verheyssen hat durch seyne propheten ynn der heyligen schrifft/von seynem son der yhm geporn ist von dem samen etce. Vnnd das wyr der etlich antzihen/hat ers am ersten versprochen [verheyssen, in third edition]/da er sagt zu der schlangen Geñ. 3. [iij., in third ed.] Ich will feyndschafft legē zwischen dyr vñ eynem weyb/zwisschen deynem samen vnd yhrem samen /der selb soll dyr deyn hewbt zutretten/vñ du wirst yhm seyn solen zutretten/Christus ist der same dises weybs/der dem teuffel seyn heubt/das ist /sund/tod/helle vñ alle seyne krafft zurtretten hatt/Denn on disen Samen kan keyn mensch der sund/dem todt/ der [nach der, in third ed.] hellen entrynnen.

with all/god promysed this his evāgelion in the olde testament by the phophetts (as paul sayth in the fyrst chapter vnto the romans). Howe that he was chosen oute to preache godds evangelion/which he before had promysed by the prophetts in the holy scriptures that treate of his sonne wchich was borne of the seed of davyd.. In the thyrd chapter of gennesis/god saith to the serpent: y wyll put hatred bitwene the and the woman bitwene thy seede and her seede /that silfe seede shall tread thy heed vnder fote. Christ is this womans seede/he it is that hath troden vnder fote the devylls heed/that is to saye synne/ dethe/hell/and all his power. For with oute this seede can no man avoyde synne/dethe/hell and euerlastynge dānacion.

Item Geñ. 22. [xxij., in third ed.] versprach [verhies, in third ed.] ers zu Abraham/ynn deynem saman sollen alle geschlecht auff erden gesegnet werden/Christus ist der same Abrahe/spricht Sanct Paulus Gal. 3. [iij., in third ed.] Der hat alle wellt gesegnet/durchs

¶Agayne gen. xxij. god promysed Abraham sayige: in thy seede shall all the generatiōs of the erthe be blessed. Christ is that seede of Abraham sayth faynet Paul in the thyrd to the galathyans He hach blessed al the worlde through the gospel. For where Christ is not/there

Euangelion/Deñ wo Christus nit [nicht, in eds. 2 & 3] ist/ da ist noch der fluch/der vber Adam vnd seyne kinder fiel/ da er gesundigt hatte/das sie altzumal der sunde/des tods/ vnd der hellen schuldig vnnd eygen seyn mussen/Widder den fluch/segenet nu das Euangeliõ alle wellt/da mit/das es rufft offentlich/ wer an disen samen Abrahe glewbt/sol gesegnet/das ist/võ sund/tod vnd helle/ los seyn/vnd rechtfertig /lebendig vnd selig bleyben ewiglich/wie Christus selb sagt Iohan. 11. [xi. in ed. 3] Wer an mich glewbt/der wirt nymmer mehr sterben.

remaineth the cursse that fel on adã as soone as he had synned/ So that they are in bondage vnder the dominacion of synne/dethe/and hell. Agaynste this cursse blesseth nowe the gospell all the worlde /in asmoche as it cryeth openly/who so ever beleveth on the seede of Abrahã shalbe blessed /that is/he shalbe delyvered frõ synne/dethe and hell/and shall hence forth contynue righewes/ lyvinge/ and saved for euer/as Christ hym sylffe saith (in the xi. of Ihon) He that beleveth on me shall never more dye.

We need hardly make any further comment upon these parallel columns of part of this production of these two Reformers. We surely need not point out that the paragraphs of importance in Tyndale's *prologge* are virtually direct translations from Luther. Moreover, even for other parts not so directly appropriated, Tyndale apparently received the suggestion or inspiration from Luther.

We should like to reproduce both introductions completely, and to trace sources of other passages of Tyndale's *prologge,* but space will not permit. And, of course, equally interesting might be a similar examination of other writings of Tyndale, if such came within the scope of our consideration.

But we must here necessarily confine ourselves to a comparison of Tyndale's *Cologne Fragment* with Luther's New Testament up to Matthew 22: 12, with which we shall therefore continue.

In connection with this account and reproduction of the *introductions* to the New Testament, we must consider also the pages of *contents*, as these follow, and may be regarded as parts of, the introductions. These, too, we shall reproduce in parallel columns as they occur in Luther's first edition and Tyndale's Fragment respectively.

LIST OF BOOKS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Luther: September, 1522	Tyndale: Cologne Fragment, 1525
Die Bucher des newen testaments.	**The bokes conteyned in the newe Testament.**
1 Euangelion Sanct Matthes.	i The gospell of saynct Mathew
2 Euangelion Sanct Marcus.	ij The gospell of S. Marke
3 Euangelion Sanct Lucas.	iij The gospell of S. Luke
4 Euangelion Sanct Iohannis.	iiij The gospel of S. Ihon
5 Der Apostel geschicht beschrieben von Sanct Lucas	v The actes of the apostles written by S. Luke
6 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Romern.	vi The epistle of S. Paul to the Romans
7 Die erste Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern	vij The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to the Corrinthians
8 Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Corinthern.	viij The second pistle of S. Paul to the Cortinthians
9 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Galatern.	ix The pistle of S. Paul to the Galathians
10 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Ephesern.	x The pistle of S. Paul to the Ephesians
11 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Philippern.	xi The pistle of S. Paul to the Philippians

12 Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Colossern.	xij The pistle of S. Paul to the Collossians
13 Die erste Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Thessalonicern.	xiij The fyrst pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tessalonians
14 Die ander Epistel Sanct Paulus zu den Thessalonicern.	xiiij The seconde pistle of S. Paul vnto the Tessalonians
15 Die Erst Epistel Sanct Paulus an Timotheon.	xv The fyrst pistle of S. Paul to Timothe
16 Die ander Epistel Santc Paulus an Timotheon.	xvi The seconde pistle of S. Paul to Timothe
17 Epistel Sanct Paulus an Titon.	xvij The pistle of S. Paul to Titus
18 Epistel Sanct Paulus an Philemon.	xviij Te pistle of S. Paul vnto Philemon
19 Die erst Epistel Sanct Peters.	xix The fyrst pistle of S. Peter
20 Die ander Epistel Sanct Peters.	xx The seconde pistle of S. Peter
21 Die erste Epistel Sanct Iohannis.	xxi The fyrst pistle of S. Ihon
22 Die ander Epistel Sanct Iohannis.	xxij The seconde pistle of S. Ihon
23 Die drit Epistel Sanct Iohannis.	xxiij The thyrd pistle of S. Ihon
Die Epistle zu den Ebreern.	The pistle vnto the Ebrues
Die Epistel Iacobus.	The pistle of S. Iames
Die Epistel Iudas.	The pistle of Iude
Die offinbarung Iohannis.	The revelacion of Ihon

The above parallel columns tell their own story. From the heading down to the last book mentioned, Tyndale's list of books is apparently practically a literal translation, amounting almost to a transcript, of Luther's list. Note the *heading*, the *order* of the books, and even the very *arrangement* on the page. Note

Tyndale following Luther in such details as in v. of his list, as to the Acts of the Apostles. Likewise, somewhat like a student following a great authority, Tyndale follows Luther in placing *Hebrews* and *James* after the *Third Epistle of John*, instead of placing it after *Philemon*, as he also follows him in numbering the books down to 23, and then leaving the last four books unnumbered and with a little space between them and the books above them. Only in using Roman numerals instead of Arabic numerals does he differ from Luther. In the light of these and many other facts and details, is there any wonder that his contemporaries actually considered Tyndale's New Testament as "Luther's Testament in English"? But we ask the reader kindly to be patient with us and with us to reserve judgment for the present, while we pass on to a consideration of other points.

II

THE NOTES OR GLOSSES

HE exact number of the marginal glosses in Tyndale's Fragment (Matthew 1—22:12) is 92. Of these, we find 57 to be almost wholly (several partly) practically literal translations of Luther's notes; and these are the notes of importance. At least three other notes are *based* upon Luther's notes (Matt. 2:18; 5:8; 15:5). And 32 are apparently not based upon Luther's notes in Matthew (1—22:12); but these are generally short and comparatively unimportant. Therefore, of Tyndale's 92 notes, almost two-thirds, and these the notes of significance, are taken directly from Luther's parallel notes—and, of course, without anything to indicate their real authorship, which was indeed a fortunate circumstance for Tyndale and his work. And, of course, with the source of other notes we have, in this comparison between the two Testaments (Matt. 1—22:12), nothing to do.

It should here be said that one note (1:25) which

has, however, hitherto generally also been ascribed to Tyndale by men who have traced other notes, is indeed not found in Luther's *first* edition; but it is found in his *second* and *third* editions. To this we should add that one note (13: 12), also used by Tyndale, is found in Luther's first edition, but is wanting in his second and third editions. We should also here state that the note at the end of chapter 21 was also manifestly taken from Luther's second or third edition, rather than from his first edition, because in one particular it follows the second and third editions, as we shall indicate in connection with the note. These facts, therefore, already prove that Tyndale used Luther's second or third edition, as well as his first edition, as will more clearly appear later.

This would, however, show only that Tyndale, in addition to Luther's first edition, used also his second *or* his third edition. But it does not prove *which* of these two editions he actually used—or whether he used *both* these editions—in addition to the first edition.

Apart from the fuller proof to be given under *References* and *Text*, we might here also adduce a proof from these notes that Tyndale certainly used Luther's *third* edition. Two of Tyndale's notes are clearly from the third edition. The note on the word *Moorne* (9:15) has these words, *they must faste after Christs deth & suffre payne of godds hand.* Luther's third edition has, *Sie musten aber fasten vñ leyden denn/ do Christus todt ward,* while in the first and second editions the

reading is, *Sie musten aber fasten vñ* [*vnnd*, edition 1] *leyden denn/do Christus todtet ward.* So the note on the word *Sygnes* (16: 3) refers an Old Testament prophecy to *Esaie xvi.*, as Luther's third edition, by reversing the 6 and 1, erroneously does; while Luther's first and second editions correctly refer it to *Isaie.* 61. Tyndale seems to copy or imitate even Luther's spelling of the name *Isaie.* These two notes, therefore, conclusively prove, even apart from the *References* and *Text*, that Tyndale used Luther's *third* edition. Whether he used Luther's second edition also will appear later on.

The extent to which Tyndale appropriated Luther's notes may further be seen from the fact that of Luther's *available* outer marginal notes, as far as Tyndale's Fragment goes, he used all but 12; and even three of these form the basis of three of Tyndale's notes, as already seen. It might here be said that Luther's first edition, up to the first part of the twelfth verse of Matthew 22, has 67 outer marginal glosses, and that the second and third editions each have 68. The first edition has a note (13: 12)—which was used by Tyndale—not found in the second and third editions; and the second and third editions have two notes (1: 25; 5: 25)—the first also used by Tyndale—not found in Luther's first edition. The other notes are the same, except as to spelling, etc. Hence, there are 69 different outer marginal notes in the three editions. There is also an inner marginal note (9:23) in all three edi-

tions, apparently placed there because of want of space on the outer margin.

As these marginal glosses are almost inaccessible, and as they constitute a running commentary that is a not unimportant contribution to theological literature, and especially as a reprint here affords an ocular demonstration of our analysis above, we believe that a reproduction of them will be welcomed. We shall, therefore, present them complete as they appear, up to Matthew 22: 12, in a column parallel to Tyndale's notes as found in the Cologne Fragment. We take these notes from Luther's second Wittenberg edition —as between the first and third editions—and indicate variations (except the unimportant differences in spelling) in the other two editions. But the notes are given in the original spelling—even as to typographical errors and punctuation, as they appear in Luther's second edition and Tyndale's Fragment. For the notes which Tyndale directly appropriates, either in whole or in part, we do not repeat in the English column the chapter and verse of the English version now in use.

MARGINAL NOTES

Luther: Second Edition, December, 1522	Tyndale: Cologne Fragment 1525
Matt. 1 :1.—Abraham vnd Dauid werdē furnemlich antzogen/darumb das den selbē Christus sonderlich verheyssen ist.	*Abraham and David are fyrst rehearsid/because that chirste was chefly promysed vnto them.

1 :6.—Sanct Mattheus lesset ettlich gelid aussen/vnnd furet Christus geschlecht von Solomon nach dem gesetz/aber Sauct. Lucas furet es nach der natur von Nathan Solomonis bruder. Denn das gesetz nennet auch die kinder/szo von brudern aus nachgelassenem weyb geporn sing. Deuter. 25.

Saynct mathew leveth out certeyne generacions/ & describeth Christes linage from solomō/after the lawe of Moses/ but Lucas describeth it accordyng to nature/frō nathan solomōs brother. For the lawe calleth them a mannes childrē which his broder begatt of his wyfe lefte behynde hym after his dethe. deu. xxv. c.

1:16.—*That ys to saye by the workige & power of the holy goste.

1 :19.—(Rugen etce.)
Das is er wolt sie nicht zu schanden machen fur den leuten/als er wol macht hatte nach dem gesetze/vnd rumbt also sanct. Matth. Iosephs fromkeyt das er sich auch seynes rechten vmb liebe willen vertzigen hat.

*Defame
That is he wolde not put her to opē shame/as he wel might haue done bi the lawe. Also mathew reioysith of the goodnes of ioseph/which for loves sake dyd remyt of his ryght.

1:21.—*Iesus.
Iesus is asmoche to saye as a saver/for he onli saveth all men from their synnes bi his meretes with oute there deserving

1:23.—Christe bryngeth god. where Christ is there is god. and were christ is not there is not god.

1 :25.—(Bis)
Soll nicht verstanden werden das Ioseph Mariam ernach erkēnet hab sondern es ist eyn weys zu reden yn der schrifft /als Gene. 8. der Rab sey nit wider komē/bis die erde trucknet/wil die schrifft nit/das der

*Till she. ye shall nott suppoose that he knew her afterwarde/but hit is the maner of the scripture so to speake/as gē. viij. c. the ravin cam not againe till the water was drōke vppe and the erth drye/the scripture meaneth nott/he cam

Rab hernach komen sey/also auch hie volgt nicht/das Ioseph Mariam hernach erkennet hab.

[The above note is not found in the first edition; but it is also in the third edition.]

2 :1.—(weysen etce.)
Die S. Math. Magos nennet/ vnnd sind magi in etlichen morgenlender Natur kundiger vñ priester gewesen.

agayne after warde: evyn soo here/hit foloweth not that ioseph kewe oure lady after warde.

*wyse men.
Of mathew they ar callid Magi / & in certeyne coũtreis ī the est/philosophers conynge in naturall causes & effectes/and also the prestes/were so callyd.

2 :5.—*Iury is the londe. Iuda is that trybe or kynred that dwelt there in.

2 :6.—(Mit nichte)
Bethlehem war kleyn anzusehen/darumb auch Micheas sie kleyn nennet. Aber der Euangelist hat (mit nichte) hyn zu than/darumb/ das sie itzund erhohet war/do Christus da geporn ward. Vnd trifft also der Euangelist die figur / denn Bethlehem bedeut/die chrſtenheyt die veracht fur der welt/ gros fur Gott ist.

2 :18.—(aus mit yhnen)
Diszen spruch hat Sanct Math. sonderlich anzogē/dz er durch yhn anzcyget/wie er sich allzeyt vmb die Christenheyt helt /Denn es lest sich allweg fur der welt ansehen/als sey es aus vmb die Christen/doch werden sie/widder all macht der helle/wunderlich durch Got

2 :18.—*Rachell was buried nor ferre from bethlehem/ād the prophet signifieth that as she mourned her sõne beniamyn/in whoes byrth she dyed /so shuld the mothers of these children mourne. And here maye we se/howe it goeth all waye/with the righte christen men before the world/for the

Eliud hat gezeugt den Eleasar.
Eleasar hat gezeugt den Mathan.
Mathan hat gezeugt den Jacob.
Jacob hat gezeugt den Joseph den man Marie / von welcher ist geborn Jhesus / der da heyst Christus.

Alle gelid vō Abraham bis auff Dauid / sind viertzehē gelid / Vō Dauid bis auff die Babilonische gefencknis sind viertzehen gelid / Von der Babilonischen gefencknis bis auff Christum sind viertzehen gelid.

Die geburt Christi war aber also gethan / Als maria seyne muter dem Joseph vertrawet war / ehe sie flut eynander zu hauss sassen / erfond sichs das sie schwanger war / von dem heiligen geyst. Joseph aber yhr man war from / vnd wolt sie nicht rugen / gedacht aber sie he / nitlich zuuerlassen / In dem er aber also gedacht / sihe / da erschyn yhm eyn Engell des herrn ym trawm rū sprach / Joseph du son Dauid furcht dich nicht Mariam deyn weyb zu dyr zunehmen / deñ das ynn yhr gezeugt ist / das ist vom heiligen geyst / vnnd sie wirt eynen son geperen / des namen soltu Jhesus heyssen / denn er wirt seyn volck selig machen von yhren sunden. Luce. 2.

Das ist aber alles geschehen / auff das erfullet wurd das der herr durch den Propheten gesaget hat / der do spricht. Sihe / eyn iunckfraw wirt schwanger seyn vnd eynen son geperen / vnd sie werden seynen namen Emanuel heyssen / das ist verdolmetschet. Gott mit vns. Esa. 7

Da nu Joseph vom schlaff erwachte / thet er wie yhm des herrn Engell befolhen hatte / vnd nam seyn weyb zu sich / vnd erkennet sie nicht / bis sie yhren ersten son gepar / vnd hies seynen namen Jhesus.

Das ander Capitel.

DO Jhesus geporn war zu Bethlehem / ym Judischen land / zur zeyt des konigs Herodis / sihe / da kamen die weysen vom morgenland gen Jerusalem / vnd sprachen. Wo ist der new geborne konig der Juden? wyr habē seynen stern gesehen ym morgen land / vnd sind komen / yhn anzubeten.

Do das der konig Herodes horte / erschrack er vnd mit yhm das gantz Jerusalem / vnd lies versamlen alle hohe Priester vnd schrifftgelerten / vnter dem volck / vñ erforschete von yhn / wo Christus sollt geporn werden / vnd sie sagten yhm / zu Bethlehem ym Judischen land. Deñ also ist geschrieben durch den Propheten. Vñ du Bethlehem ym Judischen land bist mit nichte die kleynist vnter den fursten Juda / denn aus dyr soll myr komen / der hertzog der yber meyn volck von Jsrael eyn herr sey. Micha. 5 Joh. 7

Da berieff Herodes die weysen heymlich / vnd erlernet mit vleys von yhnen / wenn der stern erschynen were / vnd weyset sie gen Bethlehem / vnd sprach / suhet byn / vnd forschet vleyssig nach dem kindlin / vnd wenn yhrs findet / sagt myr wider / das ich auch kome vnd es anbete.

Als sie nu den konig gehort hatten / zogen sie hyn / vnd sihe / der stern / den sie ym morgen land gesehen hatten / gieng für yhn hyn / bis

Matt. 1: 15-2:9, Second Edition of Luther's N. T. It contains **note** to 1:25 (Bis), not found in First Edition. Size of **text** of original 8½x5 inches. See pages 77 and 78.

erhalten/vnd man sicht hie yñ disen kinden/wie eyn recht Christlich wesen/ynn leyden stehe.

faythes sake/which they have yn christe/nott withstondinge they are wonderfully mayntained & defended alwaye of god/ageynst all power of hell.

3 :4.—Solche hewschrecken pflegt man yn ettlich morgenlender zuessen/als Hierony. schreybt.

*Locustes/are more then oware greshoppers/& souche men vse to eate ī divers partics of the este.

4 :9.—Put youre truste ī goddes wordes only/and not ī abraham. Let saynctes be an ensāple vnto you & not youre truste & cõfidence For then ye make Christ of them.

3 15.—(alle gerecht)
Alle gerechtickeyt wirt erfullet/wenn wyr vns aller vnser gerechtickeit vñ eehre vertzeyhen/das Got alleyn fur den gehaltē werd/der gerecht sey/vñ gerecht mache die glewbigen. Diss thut Iohannes/so er sich seyner gerechtickeyt aussert/ vñ wil vō Christo getauft vñ gerechtfertiget werdē. Diss thut auch Christus so er sich seyner gerechtickeyt vñ ehre nicht annympt/sondern lest sich teuffen vnd todten/Denn tauff ist nicht anders denn todt.

*All Rightwesnes/ys fulfilled when we forsake all oure awne rightwesnes/ that god only maye be counted he which is rightwes/& maketh righwes/ rightwes/throw feith. This doeth Ihon ī that he putteth frō hym hys awne rightwesnes/& wold be wesshed of Christ ād made rightwes. This also doeth Christe/ī that he taketh nott rightwesnes & honour on hym: but suffreth hym silfe to be baptised & killed/for baptim is none other thinge then deeth.

5 :5.—(besitzen) die welt vermeynt die erden zu besitzen vñ das yhr zu schutzē weñ sie gewalt vbet/aber Christus leret/das man die erden alleyn mit senfftmutigkeyt on gewalt behalt.

*Erth.
The worlde thīkethe too possesse the erthe/and to defend there awne/when they vse violence & power: but christ teacheth that the world muste be possessed with mekenes on-

ly/ and with oute power and violence.

5 :8.— (fridfertigen) Die fridfertigen sind mehr denn fridsamen/ nemlich/die den frid machen furdern vnd erhalten vnter andern/wie Christus vns bey Gott hat frid gemacht.

5 :7-11.—All these dedes here rehearsed as to norisshe peace /to shewe mercy/to suffre psecuciō/and so foth/make not a man happye and blessed/nether deserve the rewarde of heven: but declare and testifie that we are happy and blessede and that we shall have greate pmociō ī heven. and certyfyeth vs ī oure hertes that we are goddes sonnes/& that the holy goost is in vs. for all good thynges are geven to vs frely of god for christes blouddes sake ād his merittes.

5 :13.—(das saltz) wenn die lerer auff horen Gottis wort zu leren/mussen sie von menchen gesetzen vberfallen vnd zu tretten werden.

☞ Salt.
whē the pachers ceasse too preache godds worde/ thē muste they nedes be oppressed & trod vnder fote with mannes tradicions.

5 :18.—*Iott.
Is as moche too saie as the leest letter. for so is the leest lerter that the grekes or the hebrues haue/called.

5 :19.—(auff loset) Also thut der Papisten hauff/sagen dise gepott Christi seyen nicht gepot/sondern redte.

☞ breakith
This do they which say that these Christs cōmaūdments are not cōmaundmēts/ but consailes.

5 :19.—(kleynist heyssen) das is/wenig geacht/sondern verworften werden.

*The leest
That is to saye. shalbe little set by and despised.

5 :19.—(gros heyssen)
das is/gros geacht werden.

☞ Greate
That is/shalbe moche sett by / & had in reverence.

5 :20.—(der Phariseer)
Der Phariseer fromkeyt steht alleyn in euserlichen wercken vñ scheyn Christus aber foddert des hertzen fromkeyt.

The goodnes of the pharisaies/ stōdith in ovtwarde works & appieraunce: but Christe requyreth te goodnes of the herte.

5 22.—(Racha) Racha ist das rauch scharren ym hals/ vnd begreyffet alle zornige zeychen.

*Racha.
Is the whoarce soūde in the throate/ & betokeneth all sygnes of wrath.

5 :25.—(wilfertig)
Gleych wie der schuldig ist zu versunen der dem andern leyde than hat also ist der schuldig zu vergehen vnnd gutwillig zu seyn/dem leyd geschehē ist/das keyn zorn bleybe auff beyden seytten.

[The above note, though found also in the third edition, is not found in the first edition.]

5 :29.—(reys) Geystlich aus reysson/ ist hie geporten/ das ist/wenn der augen lust getodtet wirt ym hertzen vnd abethan.

*Plucke
To plucke oute spiritualy is here commaunded/that is when the yes luste is put awaie and kyllid in the hert.

5 :34.—(schweren)
Alles scweren vnd eyden ist hie verspotten/das der mensch von yhm selber thut/wens aber die lieb/nodt, nutz des nehisten /odder Gottis ehre fodert/ist is wolthun/Gleych wie auch der zorn verpotten/ ist/ vnd doch

☞ Sweare.
All swearynge & othes which a mā of him silffe doith/are here forbydē/never thelesse whē love/neade/thy neghburs proffyte/or godds honoure requyrith hit/then is hit well done too sweare. like as wrath

loblich wenn er aus liebe vnd zu Gottes ehren/erfoddert wirt.

forbydden is/& yet is lawdable whē hit proceadith of love to honoure god with all.

5 :39.—(nicht widder streben) das ist/niemant soll sich selb rechen noch rach suchen/ auch fur gericht/auch nicht rach begerē. Aber die vbirkeyt des schwerds/sol solchs thun/ von yhr selbs odder durch den nehisten aus lieb ermanet vnn ersucht.

No * man shuld avenge hyme silfe/or seke wreeke/no nott by the lawe: butt the ruler which hath the swearde shuld do such thyngs of hym silfe/ or when the negbures off love warne hym/and requyre hym.

5 :46.—(zollner) heyssen latinisch Publicani vnd sind gewesen/die der Romer rendte vnd zoll bestanden haten/vnd waren gemeyniglich Gotlose heyden/da hyn vō den Romern gesatzt.

*Publicans gaddred rentes/toll /custume/& tribute for the romans/& were cōmēly hethen men ther vnto appoīted of the romans.

6 :6.—*Rewarde.
ye shall not thynke/that oure dedes deserve ani thyng of god as a labourar deserueth hys hyre. For all good thynges come of the bounteusnes/liberalite/ mercy/ promyses/ & trewth of god bi the deseruinge of Christs bloud ōly but it ys a maner of spekinge. as we saye (thy labur or going was well rewarded) vnto hī that hath but sett only the promyses of a nodyr man.

6 :22.—*Syngle.
The eye is single when a man ī all his dedes loketh butt on the wil of god/ & loketh nott for laude/honour or eni other rewarde in this worlde. nother ascrybeth heven or a hyer

roume ī hevē vnto his dedes: but accepteth/heven as a thīg purchased bi the bloud of Christe/ & worketh frely for loves sake only.

6 :30.—*fornace.
Men heete there fornaces & ovens with suche thynges in those cuntreyes.

6 :34.—(seyn eygen vbel)
das ist tegliche arbeyt/vnd will /es sey genug das wir teglich arbeyten/sollen nicht weytter sorgen.

*Trouble/is the dayly laboure. he wil hit be ynough that we laboure dayly wyth oute forther care.

7 :1.—Richten gehort alleyn Got/darum wer richtet on gottis befelh/der nympt Gott seyn ehre/vñ dis ist der balck.

Too Iudge or cōdem/belongith to god only/therefore who someuer iudgeth with oute godds cōmaundment/ takith goddes honoure frō him/& that is the beame in the eye.

7 :6.—(heyligthum)
Das heyligthum ist Gottis wort /da durch all ding geheyliget werden.

*Holye.
The holye thīges are the woorde of god/that sanctifieth all thinges. Doggs/ are the psecuters of the worde.

7 :6.—(hunden)
Hund sind die das wort verfolgen.

7 :6.—(sew)
Sew sind/die ersoffen ynn fleyschlichem lust/dz wort nicht achten.

*Swyne/are they which are drowned in fleshly luste & despice the worde.

7 :24.—(thut)
Hie foddert Christus auch den glawben/denn wo nicht glaub ist/thut man die gepot nicht/ Roma. 3. vnd alle gutte werck

*The same.
Here Christe requirith faith/ for wheare faith is not there is not the cōmaundment fulfilled: Ro. iij. And all goode workes

nach dem scheyn/on glawbē geschehē sind sund. Da gegē auch /wo glawb ist/mussen recht gutte werck folgen/das heysset Christus (thun) vō reynem hertzen thun. Der glawb aber reyniget das hertz. Act. 15. vnd solche frumkeyt/stehet vest widder alle wind/das ist/ alle macht der hellē/Deñ sie ist auff den fels Christū/durch den glawben gebawet. Gute werck on glawbē/sind der torichten iunckfrawen lampen on ole.

after ovtwarde appieraunce with ovte faith are syn: contrarie wyse where faith is/ there must the veary goode werkes folowe. Christe callith here/doīge: too doo with a pure herte. Actu. xv. And souche goodnes stōdith fast agaīste all windes/ that is too saye agaynste al the powre of hel/ for hit is bilt on the rocke Christe/thoorowe faith.

8 :2.—(so du wilt) Der glawb weyss nicht/vertrauet aber auff Gottis gnad.

*wilt
*faithe knoweth not & trusteth ī the favour and goodness of god

[This note follows the next one in Tyndale.]

8 :4.—(vber sie)
Moses nennet das gesetz eyn zeugnis vber das volck/Deut. 31. Denn das gesetz beschuldiget vns/vñ ist ein zeug vber vnser sund/also hie/die priester so sie zeugen/Christus hab disen gereyniget/vñ glewben doch nicht/zeugen sie widder sich selb.

*In witnes. Moses callith the lawe a wytnes vnto the people. deur. xxxi. for the lawe acusith vs/ & is a testimonie agaynst oure syn. lyke wyse here/yf the prestes bare recorde that Christe hadde clensyd this leper/ & yet belevyed not/ thē testified they agaīst themselves.

8 :9.—(weñ ich sage)
Das ist/Sind meyne wort so mechtig/wie viel mechtiger sind denn deyne wort?

8 :11.—(vom morgen)
Das ist/die heyden werden angenommen/darumb das sie

glawben werden/die Iuden vnd werckheyligen verworffen/Ro. 9.

8 :19.—(wo du hyn &c.) Ettlich wollen Christo nicht folgen/sie seyen denn gewiss/ wo hyn darumb verwirfft Christus disen/als der nicht trawen /sondern zuuor/der sach gewiss seyn wil.

8 :21.—(Begrabe etce.) Ettliche wenden gutte werck fur/dz sie nicht folgen odder glewben wollen. Aber die deutet Christus todte vnd verlorne gutte werck.

9 :1.—(Seyne stadt) Capharnaum.

9 :13.—(nicht am opfer) Christus spricht er esse mit sundern das er barmhertzigkeyt beweysze vnd heyst die phariseer auch barmhertzigkeyt beweysen vnd die sunder nicht verachten/drumb das alleyn diss gutte werck sind/die dem nehissten zu gut komen/ singēs/ fastens/ opfers/ acht Gott nichts.

9 :13.—(nicht den frumen) Christus verwurft all menschliche frumkeyt/vnd will das wyr alleyn auf seyn frumkeyt bawen/darumb er auch hie spricht/er ruffe alleyn den sundern/vnd i. Timot. i. spricht Paulus/ Christus sey in die wellt komen/ die sunder selig zu machen.

8:13.—☞ Centurion. Is a captayne of an C. mē/ whom I cal som tyme a cēturion/but for the moost parte an vnder captayne

*burie Some pretend goode werke because they wolde not folowe Christe & beleve: but Christe signifieth/ that such werks are deed and loost.

This cite was capernaum.

9 :15.—(leyde tragen) Es ist zweyerley leyden. Erns aus eygner wal angenomen/als der monch regulen &c. wie Baals priester sich selb stachē. 3 Reg. 18. Solchs leyden helt all welt/vnd hielten die pharseer/auch Iohannis iungere fur gros. Aber Gott veracht es. Das ander leyden/von Gott on vnser wal zu geschickt/als schand/tod etc. Diss williglich leyden ist eyn recht kreutz vnd Gott gefellig. Darumb spricht Christus/seyne jungere fasten nit/die weyl der breutgam noch bey yhn ist/das ist die weyl yhnen Gott noch nicht hat leyden zu geschickt/vñ Christus noch bey yhn war/vnd sie schutzet/ ertichten sie yhnen keyn leyden/denn es ist nichts fur Gott/Sie musten aber fasten/vñ leyden denn/do Christus todtet ward [do Christus todt ward,—in third edition]/ da mit verwurfft Christus der heuchler leydē vnd fasten/aus eygner wal angenomen. Item wo sich Christus freuntlich erzeygt/als eyn breutgam/ do mus freud seyn/wo er sich aber anders erzeygt/mus trawren seyn.

*Moorne That is too suffre payne. There is payne ij manner awayes. oone waye of a mannes awne choyse ad electiō /as is the mōks rules/and as baals prests prickyd thē selves. iij regū. xviij, suche paine doth al the worlde/the pharisaies/ ye & Ihōnes disciples esteme greate: but god despiseth hit. An other waes is there payne / & ordeynyd of god with oute oure electiō as shame/rebuke /wrōge/deeth. such too suffre paciently and with goodwill/ is the ryght crosse and pleaseth god well. So Christs disciples faste nott/but are mery att the mariage/ whyle the bryde grme is yett with thē/ ād defendeth them/ye & god had yett ordeyned no trouble for them/they fayne them sylfe no paine/for itt pleaseth not god/ they must faste after Christs deth & suffre payne of godds hand and ordeynaūce. So now wharsoever a man taketh on hym by hys awne elececiō/ that is reproved/ye & where Christ sheweth hymsilfe frendly as a byrde grome/ there muste nedes be amery herte.

9 :15.—(Niemand stickt) mit disen worten weyset er sie von sich/als die/so seyne leer/ von solcher freyheyt seyner iunger/ nicht verstunden/ vnnd spricht man kunde alte kleyder nicht mit newen lappen flicken /denn sie halten doch den stich nicht/das ist/man kunde dise

☞ Pecyth. with these words Christ dryveth them frō hym as them which vnderstoode not his lernīge/as cōcernīge the libertie of his disciples/ and sayth: No man mendith an olde garmēt with newe clothe/ for the olde holdith not the stiche/ as who saith suche spi-

newe leer nit mit allten fleyschlichen hertzen begriffen /Vnd wo man sie fleyschlichē leutē predige/werde es nur erger/wie man itzt sihet/das /so man geystliche freyheyt leret/ mast sich das fleysch der freyhet an/zu seynem mutwillen.

[We shall here give also the note on the inner margin of Luther's first three editions.]

9 23.—(pfeyffer) die man denn zu der leyche braucht vnd bedeutten falsche lerer.

10:14.—(schuttelt) also, gar nichts sollt yhr vō yhn nemen das yhr auch yhren staub von schuchen schuttelet/das sie erkennen/das yhr nicht ewern nutz/sondern yhr seligkeyt gesucht habt.

10 :23.—(nicht auszurichten) als wolt er sprechē/ich weys wol das sie euch verfolgen werden/denn dis volck wirt das euangelium verfolgen/ vnd nicht bekeret werden bis zu end der welt.

rituall newe learnynge cannot be cōprehēdyd with olde fleshly herts. Pache to fleshly people and they were worse/as we se when spirituall libertie is pached/the fleshe drawith hit vnto carnall luste.

9 37.—*The hervest are the people redy to receve the evāgeliō/ād the laborers are the true preachers.

10 :9.—beyonde the see cōmenly they have as well brasen moneye as of golde & sylver.

*Duste
That is/se that ye take noo thinge of thē in so moche that ye shake of the very duste from youre shues/ that they maie knowe howe ye soght not youre awne proffit: but there helth

*fynsshe.
That ys/ye shall nott haue cōverted or preached.

10:27.—That ys to sey openly/where every mā maye here.

10 :41.—*In the name of a prophet/a rightwes man/or a disciple, that ys to sey/in that

he perteyneh to god & to Christ.

10 :42.—*water. Compare dede too dede/ so ys one greater then another: but cōpare them to/god/so are they all lyke/ād one as good as another. even as the spyrite movyth a mā/ & tyme & occasiō gevyth

11 :6.—☞ hurted & offēded thorow oute all the newe testamēt betokeneth to decaye & faule in the fayth, for māy whē thei sawe that Christ was but a carpentars sōe as thei supposed/& he hym selfe also a carpēter/& his moder/& kyñe of so lowe degre. moreover when they sawe him put to so vyle a deeth/fell clene frō the faith/& coulde not beleve.

11 :11.—(der kleynist) Christus.

☞ Lesse.
That is Christe.

11 :12.—(leydet das hymel reych) die gewissen/wenn sie das euangelion vernemen dringen sie hyntzu/dz yhn niemant werē kan.

*Violence
When the cōsciēces perceave the gospel they thruste in nothynge can let them

11 :20.—To vpbrayd is to cast a man in the tethe.

11 :30.—(meyn ioch etce.) das creutz st gar eyn leychte last denen die das Euangelion schmecken vnd fulen.

*My yoke.
The crosse is an easy thinge too them that perceave the gospell.

12 8.—(vber den sabbath) so gar stehet der verstandt al-

☞ Sabborh.
The vnderstondinge of all cōm-

ler gepott ynn der liebe das auch Gottis gepot nicht bindet wo es liebe vnd nodt foddert.

aundmēts stōde so greatly i love/that the very cōmandmēts of god binde not where love ād neade requyre.

12 :25.—*Desolate. That ys wasted/destroyed/& brought to nought.

12 :31.—(widder den heyligen geyst) Die sund ynn den heyligen geyst ist/verachtung des Euangeli vnnd seyner werck/die weyll die stehet ist keyner sund radt/denn sie sicht widder den glauben/der da ist der sund vergebung/wo fie aber wirt abthan/mag der glawbe eyngehen vnd alle sund abfallen.

☞ Goost. Syñe ageynste the holy goost /ys despisynge of the gospell and hys workyng. where that bydeth/is no demedy of syn. for it fyghteth agenst fayth/ which ys the foryevenes of syñe. yf that be put awaye/ fayth maye entre yn/and all syñes departe.

12 :32.—(noch ihener) das hie Mattheus spricht (widder yñ diser noch ynn ihener welt) saget Marcus also: Er ist schuldig eyner ewigen schuld.

*where Mathew sayeth here nether in the worlde to come/ Marke sayth: he is in daunger off eternall dānacion.

12 :34.—*A viper ys after the māer of an adder. ād ys a worme most full of poyson.

12 :35.—Here may ye se that wordes & dedes declare outwardly what a mā ys with yn/ ād are witnesses with hym or ageynst hym/but nether make him good nor bad/as the frute declareth what the tree ys/ but makethe yt nether good nor bad.

[The next note is found in the first edition, but not in the second and third editions.]

13 :12.—(wer do hatt) wo das wort gottis verstanden

He that hath. where the worde of god is vnderstōde/

wirt/da mehret es sich vnd bessert den menschē/wo es aber nicht verstanden wirt/da nympt es ab vnnd ergert den menschen.

there hit multiplieth & makith the people better. where hit is not vnderstōde/theare hit decreasith & makith the people woorse.

13 :19.—The seed ys sowen ī the grounde & the gronnde ys sowen with the worde of god.

13 :25.—Tares & cockle are wedes that growe amonge corne.

13 :31.—(senff korn) keyn verachter worttе ist/denn das Euangelium/vnd doch keyn krefftigers/denn es macht gerecht die so yhm glewbgen/gesetz vnd werck thun es nicht.

*Mustarde seed.
There is not so simle a thynge ī the worlde/or more despised/ then the gospell/& yett yt saveth ād iustifieth thē that beleve there on/the lawe & the workes doeth it not.

13 :33.—(sawerteyg) ist auch das wortt dz den menschen vernewert.

☞ Leven. betokeneth the gospell also: for yt chaungeth a man ynto a newe nature.

13: 44.—(schatz) der verborgen schatz ist dz euangelium das do vns gnad vnd gerechtigkeyt gibt/on vnser verdienst/darumb findt man es/ vnd macht frewd/das ist eyn gut frohlich gewissen welche man mit keynen wercken zu wege bringen mag.

*Treasure hyd ys the gospell/ which geveth vs grace ād ryghtwesnes with out oure deservyng therefore we fynde it ād make ioye and have a mery concience/a thynge that no man cā obteyne with workes.

13 46.—Ditz euangeliū ist auch dis perlen.

☞ The pearle is also the evāgelion.

13 :52.—(altes) das gesetz (newes) das enangelium.

*Olde/the lawe.
Newe/ the gospell/ or evangelion.

ſter. die erger ſind denn erſtlose / vnnd wenn ſie hyn eyn kommen wo nen ſie aldo / vñ das letzt diſes menſchen wurt erger / denn das erſte. Alſo wirtes auch diſem argen geſchlechte gehen.

Da er noch alſo zu dem volck redte / ſihe / da ſtunden ſeyne mutter vnnd ſeyne bruder drauſſen / die wolten mit yhm reden / da ſprach eyner zu yhm / ſihe / deyn mutter vnnd deyne bruder ſtehen drauſſen / vnnd wollen mit dyr reden. Er antwort aber vnd ſprach zu dem der es yhm anſaget. Wer iſt meyn mutter / vnd wer ſind meyne bruder? vnnd recket die hand aus vber ſeyne junger / vnnd ſprach / ſihe da / das iſt meyn mutter vnd meyne bruder. Denn wer do thut den wil len meynes vaters yns hymel, der ſelbige iſt meyn bruder / ſchweſter vnnd mutter. Marc.3. Luce.8.

Das dreytzehend Capitel.

An dem ſelbigen tag / gieng Jheſus aus dem hauſe vnd ſatzt ſich an das meer. vñ do ſich verſamlete ſich viel volcks zu yhm / alſo / das er yhm das ſchiff trat vnnd ſaſſ / vnd alles volck ſtůd am vfer / vñ er redte zu yhn mancherley durch gleychniſſen / vnnd ſprach / Sihe / Es gieng eyn Seeman aus ſeynen samen zu ſeen / vnd yhm dem er ſeet, fiel etlichs an den weg / da kamen die vogel / vnd fraſſens auff. Etlichs fiel ynn das ſteynichte / da es nicht viel erden hatt / v. d gieng bald auff / darumb das es nit tieffe erden hatte / als aber die ſonne auffgieng / verwelcket es / vñ die weyl es nit wurtzel hatte / ward es dürre. Etlichs fiel vnter die dornen / vnd die dornen wuchſen auff / vnnd erſtickten es. Etlichs fiel auff eyn gut land / vnnd gab frucht / etlichs hundertfeltig / etlichs ſechtzig feltig / etlichs dreyſſigfeltig / wer oren hat zu horen / der höre. Marc.4. Luce.8.

Vnnd die junger tratten zu yhm / vnnd ſprachen / warumb redeſtu zu yhn durch gleychniſſe? Er antwort vnnd ſprach / Euch iſt geben das yr die geheymnis des hymelreychs vernemet / diſſen aber iſts nit geben. Denn wer do hatt dem wirt gegeben / das er volle genug habe / wer aber nicht hat / vñ dem wirt auch genomen, das er hat. Darumb rede ich zu yhn durch gleychniſſe, denn mit ſehenden augen ſehe ſie nicht vnd mit horenden oren horen ſie nicht / denn ſie verſtehen es nicht vnd vber yhn wirt erfüllet die weyſſagung Eſaie / die do ſagt / mit dem gehore werdet yhr horen / vnnd werdt es nicht verſtehen / vnd mit ſehenden augen werdet yhr ſehen / vnnd werdets nicht vernemen / denn das hertz diſes volcks iſt verſtockt / vnnd yhr oren ſind dick worden zu horen / vnnd yhr augen ſind yhn ſchleffrig worden / auff das ſie nicht der mal eyns / mit den augen ſehen / vnnd mit den oren horen / vnnd mit dem hertzen verſtehen / vnd ſich bekeren / das ich yhnen hulffe. Matt.13. Marc.4. Luce.8. Joh.12. Eſa.6.

(wer do hatt) wo das wort gottes verſtanden wirt da mehret es ſich vnd beſſert den menſchē, wo es aber nicht verſtanden wirt / da nympt es ab vnnd ergert den menſchen.

Aber ſelig

14: 1.—(vier furst) Iudea mit yhr zugehor was in vier herschafften teylt/ daher man die hern tetrarchas/ has ist vierfursten nennet.

Tetrarcha/ys he that hath rule over the fourth parte of a realme. Iury with her pertenaunce was thē devided īto iiij lordshippes.

14 :25.—Die nacht teyltt man vortzeytten in vier wachte/der igliche drey stund hatte.

*wetche.
The nyght in the olde tyme was devided into iiij quarters/ and too every parte was gevyn iij houres.

15 :5.—(Gott geben etce.) odder/Es ist dyr nutzer/wenn ichs zu opffer gebe/ wie die Canones itzt leren vō testamenten vnd stifftungen.

15 :5.—*Proffytt. Marke the levē off the pharises. God wolde that the soñe shuld honoure hys father & mother with hys temporall goods/ād the pharises for there temporall lucre īterpreted yt sayng: god is thy father ād mother/ offer to hym/ So were the pharises disshes ful with robery & extorcion/ & the povre fathers and mothers perisshe for hunger and neade.

15 :13.—(alle pflantzē) alle werck die Gott nicht wirckt ym menschē/sind sund vnd hie sihet man wie gar nichts der frey will vermag.

15 :13.—Tradicions of men muste fayle att the last: gods word bydeth ever.

16 :3.—(zeychen) die zeychen meynet Christus/seyne wunder thatten/die verkundiget waren/dz sie geschen sollten zu Christus zeytten Isaie. 61. [the first edition also has Isaie. 61., which is correct; the third edition incorrectly has Isaie. 16. Thus Tyndale used the third edition and copied its error here, as he does elsewhere.]

'Sygnes.
The signes are christs wōderfull deades and miracles/ which were prophesied of before/ that they shulde be done in Chrustus tyme. Esaie xvi.

16 :18.—(Petrus) Cepha Syrisch/Petrus kriechisch heyst auf deutsch eyn fels/vnd alle Christen sind Petri vmb der bekentnis willen/die hie Petrus thut/wilche ist/der fels/darauff Petrus vnd alle petri bawet sind/Gemeyn ist die bekentnis/also auch der name.

16 :18.—(hellepforten) Die helle pforten sind aller gewalt widder die Christē/ als/ sunde/todt/helle/weltlich weyszheyt vnd gewallt etce.

☞ Peter ī the greke/sygnieth a stoone ī ēglysshe. This confessiō is the rocke. Nowe is simō bariona/or simō ionas sōne/ called Peter/ because of his cōfessiō. whosoever thē this wyse cōfesseth of Christe/ the same is called Peter. nowe is this cōfession cōe too all that are true christen. Thē ys every christē mā & wom a peter. Rede bede/austē & hierō / of the maner of lowsinge & bynding and note howe hierō checketh the presumciō of the pharises ī his tyme/ which yet had nott so mōstrous īterpretacions as oure new goddes have feyned Rede erasmus ānotacions. hyt was noot for nought that Christ badd beware of the leven of the pharises. noo thynge is so swete that they make not sowre with there tradiciōs. The evāgelion/ that ioyfull tidynges/ys nowe biterer then the olde lawe/Christes burthē is hevier then the yooke of moses/oure cōdiciō ād estate ys ten tymes more grevious then was ever the iewes The pharises have so levēded Christes swete breed.

16 :23.—☞ Itt soundeth yn greke/away frō me sathan/ and are the same words which Christe spake vnto the devyll when he woolde have had hī to fall doune & worshippe hym. luc. iiij.

16 :27.—*Dedes. For the deds testify what a mā is inwarde/

the tree shalbe preysed acordynge too hys frute.

16 :28.—(den tod) das ist/ wer an mich glawbt wirt den tod nicht sehen Iohan. 8. 11. 12.

☞ Deeth. That ts whosoever beleveth ō me shall not se deeth. Io. xij.

17 :20.—Stronge feyth requyreth fervent prayer/ & prayer requyreth fastyng to subdue the body that lustes vnquyet nott a mānes mynde.

17 :26.—(frey) wie woll Christus frey war/ gab er doch den zyns/ seym nehisten zu willen/also ist eyn Christen señyet halben alles dings frey vnd gibt sich doch seynem nedistē willich zu dienst.

*Fre. Though Christ were fre yet gave he trybute for his neghburs sake. So ys a christe mā fre ī al thyngs as pteynyng to his awne parte/ yett payeth he trybute & submitteth hym silfe to all me/ for hys brothers sake/ too serve his borther withall

18 :18.—Here all bynde and lowse.

19 :8.—(hertigkeyt) Etlich gesetz lerē. Ettliche weren/ihene leren das beste/dise weren dem bosen das nicht erger werde/drumb lassen sie viel des besten nach gleych wie das weltliche schwerd auch thut.

*Hardnes. Lawes pmitt & suffer many thyngs/to avoyde a worsse īconvenience which god will iudge & puñysshe.

19:12.—(sich selbs) dz dritte verschneyten mus geystlich seyn/nemlich willige keuscheyt/sonst were es eynerley mit dem andern das leyplich geschicht.

*Selves. The thryde chastite muste be gostly vnderstōd that ys to say voluntari chastite/ or els hyt were all wone with the seconde/ which is outwarde ī the flesshe.

19 :17.—(mich gut) Gleych wie Christus spricht

☞ Goode. As Christ speaketh Io. vij my doctrine/ys nott

Iohan. 7. meyne lere ist nicht meyn/also auch hie. Ich byn nicht gutt/denn er redet von sich selb nach der menscheyt durch wilche er vns ymer zu Gott furet.

19 :21.—(volkomen) Volkomenheyt ist eygentlich Gottis gepott hallten/darumb ists klar/das diser iungling die gepott ym grund nicht gehalten hat/wie er doch meynet/ das zeyget yhm Christus/damit/das er die rechten werck der gepott yhm furhelt/vnd vrteylt/das keyn reycher selig werde/der diser iungeling auch eyner ist/Nu werden yhe die selig die Gottis gepott halten.

my dottrine/even so sayieh he here/ y am not good/ for he speketh of his humanite/where with he ever leedeth vs too god.

*Perfectnes is pperly the kepynge of gods cōmasidmēts therefore hit appiereth evidently/that this man hadde not fulfilled goddes cōmaundemēts groundly/as he yet supposed. & that Chrst declareth when he putteth forthe vnto hyme the right worke off the cōmaūdment/ and iudgeth that none of the riche men cā be saved of whose nōbre this yonge mā was / yet shall all they be safe that kepe gods cōmaundments.

20 :3.—Sevē a clocke with vs ys one with the iewes/ & ix. is iij. xij. is vi/iij. att after none is ix/ & v. is xi. with them/ ād vi. is eventyde.

20 :13.—By this ẏstmilitude maye ye pceave that no similitude serveth throwgh out/but sū one thyng cōteyned ī the similitude. As this lōge parable pteyneth butt herevnto/ that werkc holy shall despise weeke synners/ which same werke holy shall not there have ther rewards as these which come fyrste have here butt shalbe reiecte & put awaye/ because they chalenge hit of meritts & nott of mercy & grace.

20 :22.—(der kilch) das ist /leyden. Das fleysch aber wil ymer ehe herlich werden denn es gekreutzigt wirt/ehe erhohet denn ernyderigt werden.

*The cuppe signifieth the crosse/ & sufferyng: but the flesshe wolde be glorified yer then crucified/wolde be exalted & lifte vp an hye yer thē cast doune.

20 :28.—Redeme/ is to deliver out off bondage

20 :30.—*Soñe of david.
As many as called hym sōne of david/ beleved that he was very messias that grete pphetę promysed off god/which shulde come and redeme israhell/for it was pmised that messias shuld be davids soñe.

21 :9.—(Hosianna)
Hosianna heyst auf deutsch. Ach hilff odder ach gib gluck vnd heyl.

☞/ Hosiāna/ is asmoch to sey as och helppe/or och geve good lucke & health.

21 :31.—*Ihon taught the very waye vnto rightewesnes: for he īterpreted the lawe right/ and dampned man & all his deds & rightewesnes/and drave mē vnto Christ/to seke true rightewesnes/thorow mercy obteyned in hys bloude.

21 :44.—(fellt) Es mus sich alles an Christo stossen/ettlich zur besserūg ettlich zur ergerung. [The first edition begins this note, (fellt Es mus) —another indication that Tyndale used the second or third edition, rather than the first, here.]

*Fall. All must fall or stōble at Christ/some to there salvacion/some to there damnacion.

22: near end of verse 12.—(Hochtzeyt kleyt) ist der glaw-

[At this point Tyndale's fragment stops,—Matt. 22:

bē/deñ dis Euangeliō verwirfft die werck heyligē/vñ nympt an die glewbigen.

middle of verse 12. Hence the note, on the wedding garment, a few words later, found in Luther,—does not appear in Tyndale's Fragment, but was probably used, as it is very suggestive.]

We have given the analysis of the marginal notes in Tyndale's Cologne Fragment, to which we have added as ocular evidence a reproduction of these notes in a column parallel to a reproduction of Luther's notes. Further explanation is not required to show the extent of Tyndale's dependence in these notes upon Luther's New Testament. In the light of these facts, this work of Tyndale seems somewhat analogous to that of a disciple appropriating the thoughts and imitating the methods of a great master. At any rate, these notes of the Cologne Fragment, like some other things to which we are calling attention, do not indicate the striking originality of a very independent scholar or of a truly resourceful master—such as Tyndale is sometimes represented to have been. And, in the light of these facts, the assertions of George Joye as to these particulars of Tyndale's work—though no doubt somewhat exaggerated, and though rather unfortunate in their vehemence and perhaps in their motive—are seen after all not to be very far from the truth, and hence must have had some foundation in fact. But, as more evidence on this subject is to be presented, we shall withhold further comment at this time.

III

THE PARALLEL REFERENCES

HE references, along the inner margin of the text, are also full of interest for our investigation. Several investigators who have compared Tyndale's Fragment with a copy of an early edition of Luther's New Testament, have come to the conclusion that many, and probably most, of Tyndale's marginal references were taken from Luther. But it was apparently Luther's first edition, or perhaps a later reprint, that was probably used in making these comparisons. The second and third Wittenberg editions are indeed almost inaccessible, especially the latter, of which only a few complete copies are known to be extant. And yet it was the third Wittenberg edition that Tyndale chiefly used, as already indicated, and as will still further presently appear. We shall now proceed to show that *every one* of Tyndale's marginal references in the Cologne Fragment was borrowed from Luther.

Counting double references, such as *Exod* 20. *et* 21.

(first edition, near middle of chapter 5) as two, Luther's first edition has 191 of these parallel references; the second edition has 210, two of them being repeated (*Luce.* 4. and *Iohan.* 2, middle of chapter 4); and the third edition has 208. Apart from the two references repeated in the second edition, the references in the second and third editions are the same, except as to a few differences in the abbreviations and as to printer's errors. Of the references in the first edition, 2 are not found in the second and third editions (last reference of chapter 5: *Luce.* 6., and second last reference of chapter 11: *Ioh.* 17). There are, therefore, 21 references in the second edition, and 19 in the third edition, which are not found in the first edition. Of the 191 references found in Luther's first edition, Tyndale used 167—or all but 24—and repeated 2, thus making 169. Of the 21 additional references in Luther's second edition (or of the 19 in the third edition), Tyndale used 16. Tyndale, therefore, used 167 plus 16, or 183 of Luther's references, and repeated 2, making 185 in all. And this is all the references that Tyndale's Fragment has. Thus, *every one* of Tyndale's references was taken from Luther's Testament. It should also be said that of these 185 references (or 183, if the repeated references are not counted), 3—also following Luther in this—help to make up double references (such as *Le. xix. & xxvi.*, near end of chapter 5). And, of Luther's total of 210 references in the three editions, counting the 2 references not found in the second and third enditions, noted above, but not counting the 2 re-

ferences *repeated* in the second edition, Tyndale, therefore, borrowed all but 27. From the above it is, therefore, also certain that Tyndale used Luther's second or third edition.

The question now naturally arises as to Tyndale's originality in appropriating these references. In the first place, let us remark that these references are more correct in Luther's first edition than in his second and third editions, although one might rather expect the contrary. This, however, is apparently due to mere printers' errors. And, strange to say, whenever a reference in Luther's third (or second) edition is incorrect, Tyndale copies the error in his Fragment. Thus, one of the references, though correct in Luther's first edition, is incorrect in his second and third editions: and Tyndale unwittingly copies the error (third reference of chapter 5: *Exo . . . xij,* instead of xxi). Another reference, though correct in the first and second editions, is incorrect in the third edition: and this error also Tyndale copies (second reference, chapter 15: *Leui. xxix,* instead of xx.). This reference, by a mere printer's error in setting the Arabic numeral, is *Leuiti.* 29. in the third edition, instead of *Leuiti.* 20 in the second edition (*Leuit.* 20. in the first edition). And, although Leviticus has only 27 chapters, strangely enough even this error Tyndale copies. So one reference, not found in the first edition, that is correct in the second edition, is also incorrect in the third edition (near beginning of chapter 14: *Luce.* 18.): and this error also is copied by Tyndale (*Lu. xviij.,* instead

of Leviticus 18—*Leui.* 18., as Luther's second edition correctly has it).

In addition to the very conspicuous errors noted above, in which Tyndale apparently blindly followed Luther's third edition (or perhaps in some cases the second edition), there are errors in *placing* references, etc., in which also he followed Luther's third (or second) edition. Thus, the last group of references, consisting of 5, near the end of chapter 5, Tyndale also unmistakably takes from Luther's third (or second) edition; and in so doing he follows a printer's error in misplacing the last 2 references (double: *Le. xix.* & *xxvi.*)—which are correctly placed with the *following* paragraph in Luther's first edition. In like manner, Tyndale takes the 2 references (*Mar xij. and Luc. xx.*) of the second paragraph of chapter 22 from Luther's third (or second) edition; and in so doing he follows another printer's error in misplacing them, as they are correctly placed with the third paragraph in the first edition. So also Tyndale follows Luther's third (or second) edition in omitting *Luce.* 6., the last reference of chapter 5, and in omitting the important reference of *Ioh.* 17. at the close of chapter 11—both of which are found in Luther's first edition.

There would, of course, seem to have been no possible excuse on the part of Tyndale for copying these errors of Luther's third (or even second) edition, especially those of the kind first pointed out. He also had Luther's first and more correct edition before him, as

is evident from the fact that he used a note (Matt. 13: 12) which is found in the first edition but is not found in the second and third editions. So, indeed, was there no excuse for him to appropriate any such references at all without at least first verifying them.

Besides these errors, in which he follows Luther's print, there are 14 other errors in these references, which are correct in Luther's *three* editions. Most of these are, however, likely only printers' errors; but several of them (more correctly, 5 of them) appear more like errors in *copying,* either directly from the page or indirectly from dictation by some one else from the page.

It should also be said that 2 references which are incorrect in Luther's first edition, are corrected in the second and third editions. These, therefore, are correct in Tyndale's Fragment (chapter 12, first reference: *i. Regū. xxi.,* Luther's first edition not having the *i* before *Reg. 21.,* the same being correctly inserted in the second and third editions; and chapter 13, near end: *Mar. vi.,* as in Luther's second and third editions, the first edition having *Matth. 6.*)

The above analysis, especially as to the *copied errors,* etc., conclusively proves that Tyndale certainly used Luther's *third edition,* and that for the marginal references he probably used that edition principally, or even alone. That he might have used that edition *alone* for these references, seems all the more plausible from

the fact also that all the references he used are found in that edition. And yet, as already noted, he certainly also had the first edition—as no doubt he also had the second edition—before him in his work in general. More evidence along this line will, however, appear in our examination of the *texts*.

In the light of the above almost startling facts as to Tyndale's appropriation of these references, further comment is unnecessary. To attempt to excuse Tyndale on the ground that, in order not unnecessarily to delay the publication of his New Testament, he had necessarily to avail himself of all materials at hand, and that therefore time would not permit him to verify every reference, etc., will not do. According to his biographers and many writers on the history of the English Bible, he was supposedly engaged in his translation for a long period of time. Then, in the light of this fact and the additional facts that this was apparently his one, and almost his only, great work during that time, and that in its performance, as is well known, he had the help of other English scholars, such an attempted excuse would hardly be satisfactory. The fact might be urged that he had such unbounded confidence in the correctness of Luther's New Testament that he considered it not necessary to verify references, etc. But even this could not account for some very open printers' errors, which he followed.

Moreover, though this work was pioneer work on the part of Tyndale, it was not so in exactly the same

fuller sense as was that of Luther. He had the greater work of Luther, Erasmus, *et al.*, at his disposal to use and follow; and his too free use of at least Luther's work unfortunately apparently tended even to stifle his own originality. Then, too, it must be remembered that Luther finished the first draft of his more original translation of the New Testament practically in three months, by the side of which this work of Tyndale might be considered as comparatively slow. At any rate, it would seem that no attempt to excuse Tyndale in thus almost servilely following Luther in many points, can fully vindicate him, or somehow justify the placing of him in the same exalted historic position as that of his incomparably greater master. Nor must this be regarded as in the least detracting from his true and proper, and indeed truly important, place in the history of the English Reformation and that of the English Bible.

IV

THE TEXT AND ITS ARRANGEMENT

ROM the foregoing comparison of Tyndale's *notes* and marginal *references* with those of Luther, it is very evident that of Luther's Testament it was the *third Wittenberg edition* that Tyndale chiefly used. It is, therefore, with this edition especially that Tyndale's Fragment should naturally be compared to determine to what extent he followed Luther also in his *translation*, although the essential differences in text between the three editions, as we find by a careful comparison, are not very numerous.

As a demonstration of the marked dependence of Tyndale upon Luther also as a *translator*, we shall therefore give a parallel collation of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment and Luther's third Wittenberg edition (1524) with the Greek text of Erasmus (corrected text of 1519 and 1522), to which, as a matter of additional interest and light on this subject, we shall add Erasmus's Latin translation (printed parallel to the Greek text), the Latin Vulgate and Wycliffe's English version.

Moreover, where there are variations in the texts of the first and second Wittenberg editions of Luther's Testament, they will also be indicated in our collation. Mere differences of spelling and punctuation will, however, not be given. But the spelling of the third edition will accurately be reproduced. So also will be that of Tyndale's Cologne Fragment, as well as that of Erasmus's Greek text and Latin translation and that of what is probably one of the best texts (Baxter's) of Wycliffe's version. And, as the text of the Latin Vulgate then was the unrevised text current in the many noted early printed editions of the Bible and was, with the exception of peculiarities in contractions, etc., essentially the same in all of them, we shall use in our collation a copy of one (1478) of Anthony Coburger's magnificent editions, printed at Nuremberg. To be consistent, we are also reproducting the spelling of this edition. But, as several of its marks of contraction are somewhat difficult of reproduction, we shall give only such contractions as can conveniently be reproduced. Further explanation of these should not here be necessary. It might here also be said that several difficult contractions in parts that have already passed through the press are found not be indicated (such as the stroke below or above the p, etc) ; but the reader can generally readily determine them. Our aim is to be accurate here, as elsewhere, although errors may have crept in.

The Greek text is reproduced in Roman letters. The *eta* is given as *ē*, the *omega* as *ō*, the *theta* as *th*,

the *chi* as *ch*, the *phi* as *ph*; the *psi* as *ps*, the *iota subscript* as an added *i*, and the *rough breathing* (') as an initial *h*, the initial *rho* being represented by *rh*. The upsilon is in all cases represented by *u*. No attempt is made to reproduce the accents.

The apparent sources of the passages of Tyndale's text here collated are given in *full-faced* type. That does not mean that these were necessarily the only sources, but that they undoubtedly determined Tyndale's phraseology. Of course, a complete or full collation is, for want of space, not here given; but enough is given to illustrate Tyndale's actual use of Luther's version. Indeed, a complete list of passages in Tyndale's text into which Luther's version entered as an influence, would be difficult to give. For that matter, not only for the more evident passages, a number of which are here given, but probably for the whole translation, Tyndale had before him and to some extent used a copy of Luther's New Testament.

The collation in a shortened form, giving a number of illustrative examples, follows:

COLLATION OF MATTHEW I: 1—XXII: 12

	LATIN VULGATE	LATIN ERASMUS	GREEK ERASMUS	GERMAN LUTHER (1524)	ENGLISH TYNDALE (1525)	ENGLISH WYCLIFFE (1380)
I. 1.	Liber	Liber	Biblos	Dis ist das buch	Thys ys the boke	the book
11-12.	in transmigratōne babilonis, etc.	in exilio Babylonico, etc.	epi tēs metoikesias Babulōnos, etc.	vmb die zeyt der Babilonischen gefencknis, etc.	about the tyme of the captivite of babilon, etc.	in to the transmygracioun of babuloyne, etc.
18.	Xpi at generatō sic erat	Christi uero [Iesu uero Christi, in ed. 3] natiuitas sic habet	Tou de Iēsou Christou hē gennēsis houtōs ēn	Die gepurt Christi war aber also gethan/	The byrthe of Christ was on this wyse/	but the generacioun of crist was thus
25.	p'mogenitū	primogenitum	prōtotokon	ersten son	fyrst sonne	first bigetun sone
II. 18.	Vox in rama audita ē	Vox in Rhama audita est	phōnē en rhamai ēkousthē	Auff dem gepirge hat man eyn geschrey gehoret/	on the hilles was a voice herde/	a voyce was herd an hiz
III. 12.	igni inextīguibili	igni inextinguibili	puri asbestōi	ewigem fewr	everlastinge fyre	fier that mai not be quenchid
IV. 25.	Decapoli	Decapoli	dekapoleōs	den zehen stedten/	the ten cetes/	decapoli
V. 13.	Ad nīhilum valet vlt	Ad nihīl ualet ultra	eis ouden ischuei eti	Es ist zu nicht hynfurt nutz/	it is thence forthe good for nothynge	to no thing it is worthe ouere
18.	iota vnū	iota unū	iōta hen	der kleynist buchstab/	One Iott/ [marg. note: Is as moche to saie as the leest letter, etc]	o lettir
24.	& vade pri' recōciliari fri tuo	& abi, prius recōcilieris fratri tuo	kai hupage prōton, diallagēthi tōi adelphōi sou	vnd gehe zuuor hyn/ vnd versune dich mit deynem bruder	and go thy waye fyrst and reconcyle thy silff to thy brother/	& go first to be recounceilid to thi brother

	LATIN VULGATE	LATIN ERASMUS	GREEK ERASMUS	GERMAN LUTHER (1524)	ENGLISH TYNDALE (1525)	ENGLISH WYCLIFFE (1380)
VI. 4, 6 & 18.	[omitted]	in propatulo	en tōi phanerōi	**ofentlich**	openly	[omitted]
17.	nolite multū loqui	ne sitis multiloqui	mē battologēsēte	**solt yhr nicht viel plappern/**	babble not moche/	nyle ye speke moche
VIII. 9.	& dico huic	& dico huic	kai legō toutōi	**Ich sage zu eynem/**	y saye to one/	I saie to this
18.	ex illa hora	in hora illa	en tēi horai ekeinēi	**zu der selbigen stund**	that same houre [similarly: ix: 22; xv: 28; xvii: 18]	fro that our
29.	Quid nob' & tibi Ih'u fili dei	Quid rei nobīs tecum est Iesu fili dei?	tī hēmin kai soi Iesou huie tou theou;	**Ach Ihesu du son Gottis/was haben wyr mit dyr zu thun**	O iesu the sonne of god what have we to do with the	what to us & to thee thou ihesus the sone of god
IX. 13.	mīsc'diam volo: & nō sacrifitū	misericordiā uolo, & non sacrificiū	eleon thelō kai ou thusian	**Ich hab eyn wolgefallen an [an der, ed. I] barmhertzigkeyt/vnd nicht am opffer**	I haue pleasure in mercy/ and nott in offerynge	I wole merci & not sacrifice
16.	Nemo aut īmittit commisurā pāni rudis ī vestimētum vet'	Nullus immittit assumentum panni rudis in ueste uerteri	oudeis de epiballei epiblēma rhakous agnaphou epihimatiōi palaiōi	**Niemant flickt eyn alt kleyd mit eynem lappen von neuem tuch**	No man pecyth an olde garment with a pece of newe cloth	and no man puttith a cloute of boistous clooth in to an oold clothing
27.	fili d'd	fili Dauid	huie dabid	**Ach du son Dauid/**	O thou sonne of dauid/	thou sone of dauith
X. 12.	salutate eā	salutate illā	aspasasthe autēn	**grusset das selbige**	grete the same	grete ye it
XI. 5.	Ceci vident. claudi ambulāt. etc.	Caeci uisum recipiunt, & claudi ambulant, etc.	tuphloi anablepousin, kai chōloi peripatousin, etc.	**die blinden sehen/ die lamen gehen/ etc.**	The blynd se/ the halt goo/ etc.	blinde men seen, crokid men gon, etc.

	LATIN VULGATE	LATIN ERASMUS	GREEK ERASMUS	GERMAN LUTHER (1524)	ENGLISH TYNDALE (1525)	ENGLISH WYCLIFFE (1380)
7-9.	Arundinē, etc.	Num arundinem, etc.	kalamon, etc.	woltet yhr eyn rhor sehen etc.	wet ye out to se a rede, etc.	a reed, etc.
12.	et violēti rapiūt illud	& uiolenti rapiunt illud	kai biastai harpazousin autēn	vnd die [die do in ed. 1] gewalt thun die reyssen, es zu sich	and they that make vyolence pulleth it to them	& violent men rauyschen it
18.	domeniū hz [abet]	Daemoniū habet	hoti daimonion echei	er hat den teuffel	he hath the devyll	he hath a deuel
XII. 24.	Hic non eijcit dēmões: nisi	Hic non eijcit daemonia, nisi	houtos ouk ekballei ta daimonia, ei mē	Es treybt die tewfel nicht anders aus/ denn	he dryveth the devyls no nother wise oute/ but	he this castith not out fendis; but
39.	Ione pph'e	Ionae prophetae	iōna tou prophētou	des Propheten Ionas	the prophet Ionas	Ionas the profete
XIII. 35.	a constitutōne mūdi	a constitutione mundi	apo katabolēs kosmou	von anfang der welt	from the begynynge off the worlde	fro the makinge of the world
54.	Unde huic sapiētia hec & v'tutes?	Vnde huic sapiētia haec & uirtutes?	pothen toutōi hē sophia hautē kai hai dunameis;	wo her kompt disem solche weyszheyt vnd macht?	whence cā all thys wysdō and power vnto him?	Fro whennes this wisdom & vertues comen to this?
58.	ppter incredulitatem illor'	propter incredulitatem illorum	dia tēn apistian autōn	vmb yhres vnglaw bens willen	for there vnbelefes sake	for the vnbileue of hem
XIV. 2.	& ideo virtutes op'ant in eo	& ideo uirtutes agunt in illo	dia touto hai dunameis energousin en autōi.	darumb ist seyn thun so gewaltig	and there fore hys power ys so great	and therefor vertues worchyn in hym
3.	ppt Herodiadem uxorē fris sui	propter Herodiadem uxorem Philippi fratris sui	dia hērōdiada tēn gunaika philippou tou adelphou hautou	von wegen der Herodias seynes bruders Philippus weyb	for herodias sake/ hys brother Phillipps wyffe	for erodias the wiif of his brother

	LATIN VULGATE	LATIN ERASMUS	GREEK ERASMUS	GERMAN LUTHER (1524)	ENGLISH TYNDALE (1525)	ENGLISH WYCLIFFE (1380)
XV. 9.	doctrinas & mādata hoīm	doctrinas, praecepta hominum	didaskalias, entalmata anthrōpōn	lere die nichts denn menschen gepot sind	doctryne/ which is nothynge but mens preceptes	doctrynes and maundementis of men
33.	Vnde nobis in deferto panes tanti	Vnde nobis in solitudine panes tam multi	pothen hēmin en erēmiai artoi tosoutoi	woher mogen wyr so viel brodts nemen ynn der musten	whēce shuld we get so moche breed in the wyldernes	wher of thanne so many loouys among vs in desert
XVI. 5 & 7.	obliti sūt panes accipere, etc.	obliuionē nō supserāt panes, etc.	epilathonto artous labein, etc.	hatten sie vergessen brod mit sich zu nemen, etc.	they had forgotten to take breed with them, etc.	thei forgatan to take looues, etc.
21.	Exinde	Ex eo tēpore	apo tote	Von der zeyt an/	From that tyme forth	from that tyme
XVII. 4.	Dne, bonū ē nos hic esse	Domine bonum est nos his esse	Kurie kalon estin hēmas hōde [ōde, in ed. 3 einai]	Herre/ hie ist gutt seyn	master here is good beinge for vs	lord it is goode; vo to be here
XVIII. 22.	sed vsque septuagesies septies	sed usque septuagies septies	all' heōs hebdomēkontakis hepta	sondern/ siebenzigmal sieben mal	but sevynty tymes sevyn tymes	but til seventi sithis seuene sithis
XIX. 10.	non expedit	non expedit	ou sumpherei	so ists nicht gut	then ys it not good	it spedith not
XX. 32.	Et stetit Ih's	Et stetit Iesus	kai stas ho Iēsous	Ihesus stund still/	Thē Iesus stode styll/	and ihesus stood
XXI. 9.	Osanna. . . . . .osāna	Hos anna. . . . .hos anna	hōs anna. . . .hōs anna	Hosiana. . . . . .Hosianna	hosiāna. . . . . .hosianna	osanna. . . . . .osanna
XXII. 1.	[Beginning of XXII.]	[Ending of XXI.]	[Ending of XXI.]	[Beginning of XXII.]	[Ending of XXI., following Erasmus]	[Beginning of XXII.]

The above collation throws a flood of light upon the long-debated question as to the extent (if any) of Tyndale's dependence upon Luther as a *translator*. That he used Luther's *text* with almost the same freedom with which he used his *introduction* and *marginal notes* —though he used it with greater independence—no one who really examines this collation can deny.

Moreover, from a much more complete collation, of which the above collated passages are only a small part as illustrative *examples* from the different chapters, it is very manifest that Tyndale used also Erasmus's Latin translation and Wycliffe's version, as also that he to some extent used the Latin Vulgate. Indeed, we find a number of passages whose source is found in several of these texts. There are also cases (whether they be regarded as errors or as having been derived from some other source), in which Tyndale differs from all these texts. As an example we might cite 1: 18 (not given in above collation), where Tyndale has incorrectly *was maried* (mnēsteuthēsēs,, R. V., *had been betrothed*), where Luther has correctly *vertrawet war*. So in 11: 1, he omits *twelve* (disciples), which is manifestly only an oversight.

It should also be noted that Tyndale follows the Vulgate and Wycliffe in omitting the doxology to the Lord's Prayer. It may, however, be contended that he might have followed some manuscript in this, although such a possibility is too remote to deserve much consideration. In not translating the Greek eikēi (La-

tin, *temere,* in Erasmus), *without cause,* verse 22 of chapter 5, he follows Luther, Wycliffe and the Vulgate. Another interesting point is the translation of egennēse (1:2, sqq.). Here Luther has *gepar* Isaac, etc., (*hat geporn* den Isaac, etc., in eds. 1 and 2), undoubtedly in the causative sense of *begat,* which (*begatt*) is also the translation of Tyndale. Here Tyndale apparently follows also Wycliffe, who has *bigat;* and if he be regarded as equally following Luther, which is likely the case, it would evidently be the text of his third, rather than that of his first or second, edition. In passing, it will be interesting also to note the Vulgate's addition to the text (end of 7:29), of the words *eorum et pharisei,* an error naturally followed, in his direct translation from it, by Wycliffe (who has *of hem and the farisies*), but correctly avoided by Erasmus, Luther and Tyndale.

In a former connection, in giving a probable explanation of Tyndale's statement in his "To the Reder" at the end of his "Worms" New Testament, that he "had no man to counterfet/nether was holpe with englysshe of eny that had interpreted the same," we said that Wycliffe's English was not that of Tyndale's time and that probably Tyndale did not use Wycliffe's version very much. This statement is true only as it bears upon the distinctive *differences* between the English of the two versions. But there are elements *common* to the language of the times and of the two versions that in our vindication of Tyndale's defense we ignored for the time being. As we did not point out this *common element* of the two versions, we should

in this connection say that our conviction is that Wycliffe's version influenced the *English* of Tyndale far more than writers on this subject have generally recognized or acknowledged. Thus we find many of Wycliffe's forms and combinations of words, to which is due much of the rhythmic beauty of Tyndale's version, retained or tastefully reproduced. And yet, it is true that in the actual translation itself he was not likely greatly influenced by Wycliffe's version, as we have said, as that version was clearly only a translation from the Latin Vulgate.

However, it was in connection with, and as invaluable aids in, his translation from the *original* that Tyndale used all these versions. And his use of them was with considerable discrimination. Thus his translation is to some extent an eclectic composite product, in which the relative order of sources is probably as follows: Erasmus's Greek text, Luther's German, Wycliffe's English, Erasmus's Latin and the Latin Vulgate. The statement of Westcott (*History*, etc., p. 179) that the Latin version of Erasmus influenced Tyndale's translation more than the German of Luther is very far from correct, at least as far as the Cologne Fragment is concerned. Of all the *versions* accessible to Tyndale he followed Luther's version far more than any other, and, indeed, than all others combined. It was apparently largely used as a close second to the Greek text itself. This fact, apart from the fact itself, is interesting also as indicating his high estimate of Luther's version. Although his version was a trans-

lation from the Greek text of Erasmus, which he used as a patient though advanced student of the language, Luther's version was undoubtedly the model in form and substance followed by him. And thus, largely as an interpretation also of the true meaning of the original test, Luther's version was Tyndale's guide. To say, however, as has been said by several able writers, who should have known better, that Tyndale's translation was *only* a translation from Luther is surely incorrect and manifestly unjust. Much more so is it incorrect and unjust to say that it was a translation from the Latin Vulgate. Therefore, also George Joye's charges against Tyndale as to this particular point seem rather exaggerated.

It is not for us further to rate Tyndale's Greek scholarship. But, that he was familiar with the grammatical forms of the language is evident from very many literal renderings. Indeed, his translation is often strikingly remarkable in its many literal renderings of the Greek into chaste and exquisite English. And, for that matter, Luther's version is altogether striking in its many exquisite *free* renderings. It often approaches the beautifully and tersely interpretative. This very freedom of many of Luther's renderings is a true evidence of his thorough understanding of the Greek language and of the mind of the Spirit in those inspired utterances. It is not likely, however, that Tyndale was as familiar with Greek *idioms* as he was with the grammatical forms. It is rather in the translation of these that we find him more generally follow-

ing Luther's renderings. In his repeated ignoring of Greek particles he apparently also follows Luther. Hence, his version often appears also quite free in its renderings. And, of course, in some of his expressions he unmistakably follows Luther's *German,* rather than the normal English, *order of words.* But this point must be made in the light of all the facts, as the order of words of some of his expressions, which might appear as though it was determined by Luther's phraseology, was current also in the English of his day.

Then, too, in his *arraigement of matter upon the page,* Tyndale also follows Luther very closely, not only in the *list of the books* of the New Testament and in the *marginal notes* and *parallel references,* already noted, but also in the *paragraphs* with the *spacing* between them, as well as sometimes very strikingly in the *text* itself. Thus, in the first chapter the arrangement of the genealogy upon the page is throughout a minute reproduction, sentence for sentence, of that of Luther's New Testament, one line being given to each separate statement, however short or long. At a distance the two, with notes, etc., or photographs of them, look almost as if they were really identical except for the size of the pages.

In his *headings* Tyndale also undoubtedly follows Luther's New Testament. Thus, at the top of the first page of Matthew the heading of Luther's Testament is:

Euangelion Sanct Matthes.
Das erste Capitel.

Tyndale's Fragment has:

The gospell of S. Mathew.
The fyrst Chapter.

Then, on the succeeding pages Luther's Testament has *Euangelion* on the left-hand pages and *Sanct Matthes.* on the right-hand pages. And Tyndale's Fragment has *The Gospell of* on the left-hand pages and *S. Mathew.* on the right-hand pages. Moreover, in the numbering or naming of the chapters Tyndale apparently follows Luther. Thus, Luther has *Das Ander Capitel., Das Dritt Capitel., . . . Das Sechst Capitel.,* etc., and Tyndale has *The Seconde Chapter., The thryde Chapter., . . . The Syxt Chapter,* etc., however using Roman numerals beginning with the seventh chapter.

And in his *divisions* of the *chapters into paragraphs* he does not follow Erasmus, the Vulgate, or Wycliffe, or one of the older divisions; but he manifestly follows Luther here also. In only one case throughout the twenty-two chapters does he indicate a new paragraph; namely, in dividing into two paragraphs (XVIII. 15-18, 19-20) what appears as one in Luther. In only nine cases does he combine what constitutes two paragraphs in each case (II. 7-8, 9-12; V. 21-22, 23-24; X. 5-10, 11; X. 12-13, 14-15; X. 19-20, 21-22; XI. 20-24, 25-27; XVIII. 1-6, 7-9; XIX. 3-6, 7-9; XXI. 23-27, 28-32) in Luther's first three editions. These may have been omissions of paragraph indications due part-

ly to haste or oversight on the part of Tyndale and his assistants, or to that of his printer. In all other cases the paragraphs of his Fragment fully agree with those of Luther's Testament.

V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

ROM the foregoing analysis it is seen that throughout the entire Cologne Fragment, both in form and substance, Tyndale generally very closely, and in places minutely, follows Luther's New Testament. But it is also seen that the translation itself, though in this also he quite freely follows Luther, is the most original part of this precious treasure of the beginnings of the English Reformation. Indeed, this is Tyndale's most valuable contribution to that great movement, and thus to the permanent enrichment of the Church and of his country and language.

It is also seen that justly to value or to magnify the importance of Tyndale's translation by pointing to the fact that it survives to so large an extent in King James' Version, as well as in the Revised Version, is therefore inadvertently also to emphasize an inherent dependence of those English versions upon Luther's great original Protestant Version. As the Bible, es-

pecially the New Testament, in those formative days of the English language, was the most generally read, and almost the *one* book, especially as England tended toward Protestantism, the natural result was the establishing of the language practically upon the English version of the Scriptures. And, as the successive versions were in large measure based upon that of Tyndale, mostly retaining its very phraseology, the language of Tyndale's version largely survives, not only in our present Bible, but even in the very language of the English-speaking world. Indeed, it is readily conceivable that if Tyndale's version had been different in its phraseology and had been equally followed by the succeeding versions, the English language of our day might be correspondingly different.

It must, therefore, be said that it was a fortunate circumstance for the English language that the first printed English version came from the pen of so noble a master of expression as was William Tyndale. It was an equally fortunate circumstance for the English Church, as indeed also indirectly for the English language, that that English master of expression sat at the feet, and even so freely used the work, of that consummate German theologian and translator, and even greater master of expression, Martin Luther.

Thus, though, in the interests of truth, Tyndale's scholarship and originality should not be exaggerated, his work must nevertheless unquestionably be regarded as great in its influence in the English reform-

atory movement and upon the English Church and language. And if the man, considered in the light of the times, be rated by such footprints of genius as he actually left, and if his work be in turn contemplated in connection with this measure of the man, then at this true valuation will it yet appear great to this generation. Thus such a proper and just measure of the man and of his noble work for the Church of Christ and for the history and language of the English speaking race, will not lower him in our estimation, as it shows him also to have been a leader among the great.

Therefore, our comparison of Tyndale with Luther, based upon their translations, should not minimize the former's work and make him appear smaller than he was among the heroes of the faith of that generation. But it may rather tend, by the contrast, to exalt, if that were possible, the unique personality of Tyndale's accepted incomparable master, and magnify that master's unparalleled work as original translator, theologian, reformer, and leader of men.

However, a comparison of Tyndale with Luther, as though he were his *equal* or belonged to his class—such as has sometimes been made—since the latter belongs to the few uniquely great men of all time, it might truly be said, would seem improper. With Tyndale, practically the one great work of his life was that of translating the Bible; and yet, apart from his translation of a few short passages, such as the Book of Jonah, his translation of the Old Testament extended

only to the end of II. Chronicles. And, of this, the part from the end of Deuteronomy to the end of Chronicles was left only in manuscript, to be incorporated by Rogers, his literary executor, into the so-called Matthew's Bible. His comparatively few theological and controversial tracts were rather incidents by the way. Even these—and especially the former—like his *introduction, prefaces* and *notes* accompanying his translations, were largely based upon the various writings of Luther. With Luther, on the other hand, the translation of the Bible, although he made a translation of the *whole* of it, and repeatedly revised and improved the same—however important it was for his work and for the world—was after all but an incident to the Herculean task of conducting and directing the great world movement of the Reformation. And yet, though Luther was of the same age as Tyndale, his mighty work was largely done when Tyndale suffered martyrdom. His work as theologian, professor, preacher, writer, controversialist and translator, was of such a colossal magnitude that, had it been the united work of a dozen eminent men, it would have made them all forever illustrious in the history of the great. Tyndale was a man indeed comparatively great among those heroes of the faith of his class, among whom he moved and with whom he labored. Luther was one of those few overtowering historic personalities that have turned the world's history into totally different channels and forever afterwards dominate the thought of the nations. Largely the composite product of the

century that also produced the Renaissance, by the religious Reformation Luther saved that intellectual movement from ending in infidelity and atheism. It was he that, in a sense, through these two mighty movements, broke the bonds of mediævalism and ushered in modern history. However great locally Tyndale and other men may have been, and however long some of their work may be an influence, Luther's work has in an altogether unique sense endured in the civilization, the liberty and the thought—no less than in the Church—of these centuries, and it must continue so to endure. In a real sense, he belongs to the twentieth century as truly as he belonged to the sixteenth, as indeed he will belong to all future time.

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